JUNE 15, 2015 Inside: The truth about gluten Aziz Ansari on digital dating They're the most powerful painkillers ever invented. And they're creating the worst addiction crisis America has ever seen. By Massimo Calabresi

## Introducing the new Surface 3

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### TIME VOL. 185, NO. 22 | 2015

### 5 Conversation

### BRIEFING

9 Verbatim

**10** | **LightBox** The observatory at One World Trade Center opens

### 12 | World

FIFA's Sepp Blatter resigns; a ferry disaster in China; Turkey's elections; Ian Bremmer on the Iran deal

### 16 | Nation

Cities see a rise in crime; Republicans align against Rand Paul; Rick Perry readies for Round 2

### 20 Health

Snoring isn't the only symptom of sleep apnea

### 22 Milestones

Farewell to Beau Biden; Dennis Hastert indicted

### COMMENTARY

**23** | **Viewpoint** Martin Feldstein on

the long-term trouble with low interest

### 25 In the Arena

Joe Klein on Hillary Clinton's potential Democratic challengers

ON THE COVER: Photo-illustration by Bartholomew Cooke for Time



Aziz Ansari explores love in the digital age in his new book, Modern Romance. Photograph by Martin Schoeller for TIME

### FEATURES

### **26** Hooked

How powerful painkillers created a national epidemic *by Massimo Calabresi* 

### 34 Refugees Adrift

The Rohingya fleeing persecution in Burma by boat are finding themselves unwanted elsewhere in Asia by Hannah Beech

### **40** Modern Lovers

Romantic partners are now seemingly a swipe away. Can love survive a surplus of opportunities? A comedian investigates by Aziz Ansari

### THE CULTURE

### **48** | **Second Acts** How celebrities like Gwyneth Paltrow, Jessica Alba and Blake Lively are reinventing

### 52 Movies

themselves as

domestic divas

Melissa McCarthy takes smart gender commentary undercover in the espionage spoof *Spy* 

### 54 Books

Two new books on the glutenfree trend seek to separate the fad from the facts

### 56 | Pop Chart

Quick Talk with R&B singer Jason Derulo; new baby names; a Lego hotel opens in Florida; Neverland Ranch for sale

### 58 The Awesome Column

Joel Stein talks back to talking gadgets

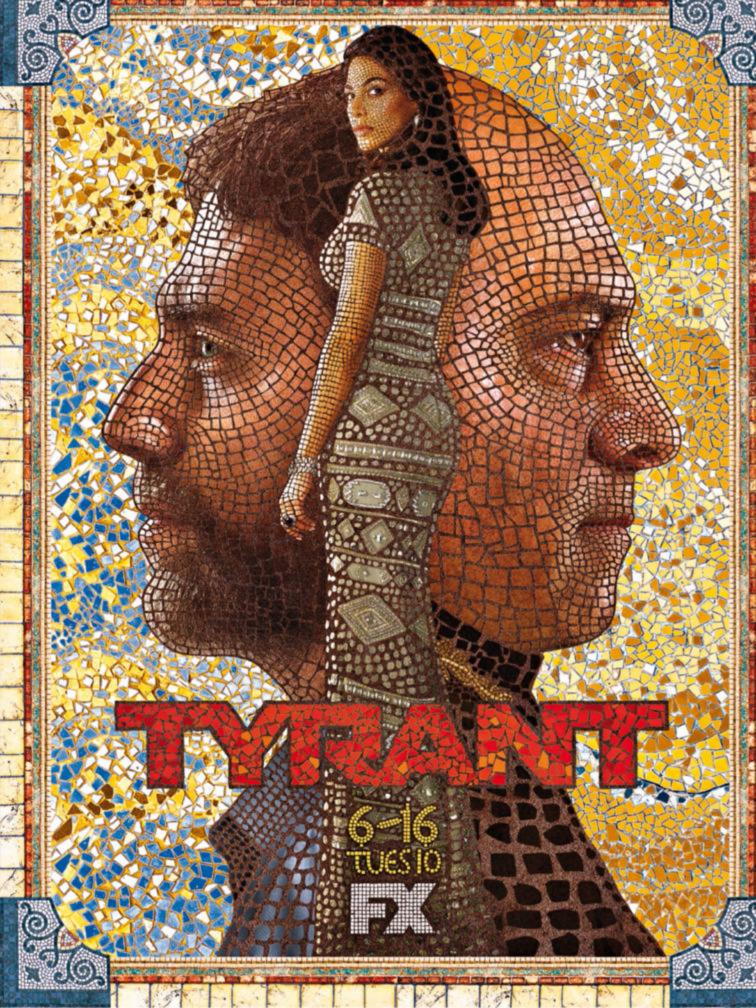
### **60 | 10 Questions** Former First Lady Barbara Bush





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TOURTEST OF GEORGE BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIB





### Conversation

### What You Said About ...



THE DEATH PENALTY "Who's the last person with a top-notch legal team to be executed?" asked MSNBC's Joe Scarborough in a discussion of David Von Drehle's June 8 cover story, which called capital punishment a "failed experiment." In

addition to socioeconomic imbalances in sentencing, there's "the sacredness of human life, and the downward spiral of violence begetting violence," wrote Jim Hannah of Independence, Mo., one of many readers who favored abolishing the death penalty. But George Mason University professor Ira Schoen disagreed: "To see individuals like Charles Manson continue to be clothed, fed, housed ... is a travesty of justice, and an intolerable insult to the families of the real victims." An alternative came from retired NYPD lieutenant Michael Gorman, who wrote, "It shocks and angers me when I see convicted murderers, some of whom are allowed to plead to lesser crimes, being released after doing only a small fraction of their original sentences. I would feel much better about getting rid of the death penalty if convicted killers would have to serve out their full terms. Public safety should trump second chances for killers."

CAMPAIGN HIRING Philip Elliott's Time.com story on GOP candidates' struggles to hire campaign staff drew lively commentary on Twitter. Wall Street Journal reporter Reid Epstein was struck by the salaries ("@Philip Elliott says top GOP 2016 staffers making up to \$35K a month"), while the image of desperate pols tickled Associated Press reporter Adam Beam, who tweeted, "In which Jeb Bush's campaign drops to one knee and begs @hopewalker to join them."

**HIGH ANXIETY** In "How to Stop Worrying," an essay for Time.com, Eric Barker explained mindfulness as a way of letting "the thoughts float by and [turning] your attention to the people you love." The piece drew praise from the American Psychological Association, which linked to and quoted the story, and reader @SeeRadd, who called Barker's ideas

"100% my favorite thing to teach clients. This is my therapy jam." Reader @JRHalloran, a selfdescribed "pessimist," tweeted, "Our thoughts are not reality. Interesting."



**LIGHTBOX** Maps in two dimensions are a thing of the past—or so say the engineers behind Vricon, a new 3-D mapping tool, who are processing roughly a third of the globe's geographical data to create precise, photo-realistic maps. The stunning results, like this visualization of Damascus, could be used in a wide range of areas—from the military to environmental activism. Find out more on lightbox.time.com.

**NOW ON TIME.COM** 

Which foods taste better right now than they will the rest of the year? Here, a preview of the full list available at

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need to know to

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STRAWBERRIES They start arriving in May, but June brings a wide range of varieties at their tasty peak



A winter staple, beets have a different texture now and an earthier. sweeter taste



**ASPARAGUS** Now is the time for thicker spears, which provide more snap and



**PEACHES** Grab the stone fruit now for cocktails and salads: peaches can be especially juicy in June

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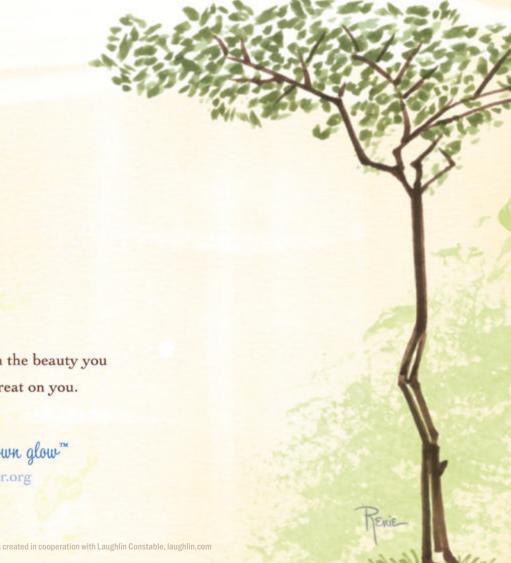
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# WAVE, BLATTER, RYAN, MORGAN: GETTY IMAGES; JENNER: AP; ILLUSTRATION BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME (2)

### Briefing

## 'We should

RAND PAUL, Kentucky Republican Senator, criticizing the bulk collection of data on Americans' phone calls; Paul's opposition helped end parts of the NSA program





### 'We're going backwards because the criminals are empowered.'

GENE RYAN, head of Baltimore's police union, blaming a rise in murders on officers' fears of prosecution for improper use of force; the murder rate hit its highest level in more than 40 years

Price per pound of a 20-year-old cheddar unveiled by a Wisconsin cheesemaker



36.5%

**Percentage of North American Internet** traffic that Netflix accounts for during peak evening hours

San Andreas The quake flick starring Dwayne Johnson led the U.S. box office on its first weekend



**GOOD WEEK BAD WEEK** 



California A new study found the state is actually at risk of a small-scale tsunami

### 'I WANT TO DO **ONLY WHAT IS BEST** FOR FIFA.'

SEPP BLATTER, president of the international governing body for soccer, announcing that he would resign in the midst of a massive corruption scandal



Age of **Harriette** Thompson, the oldest woman ever to finish a competitive marathon





'I'll get back to making you laugh. I promise you.'

TRACY MORGAN, actor, reassuring fans during his first interview since the June 2014 car crash that left the comedian with extreme brain trauma

### 'I'm so happy after such a long struggle to be living my true self.'

CAITLYN JENNER, reality-TV star and the Olympic gold medalist formerly known as Bruce, revealing herself as a woman on the cover of Vanity Fair







### World

### Qatar World Cup in Question After FIFA Chief Steps Down

BY SEAN GREGORY

In the end, it took the U.S. government to tame a mountain goat. Sepp Blatter, who once compared his durability to that of the surefooted animal, announced his resignation on June 2, just four days after winning a fifth term as president of the global soccer body FIFA. It was a rapid U-turn from his defiant posturing after nine of his former and current colleagues were indicted on May 27 for racketeering, money laundering and wire fraud. "Why would I step down?" he said after his victory. "That would mean

I recognize that I did wrong."

But step down he did, as FIFA's dirty money trail creeps closer. He's not indicted, though he's clearly in the crosshairs of U.S. prosecutors. Former FIFA executive committee member Chuck Blazer admitted that he and others accepted bribes in conjunction with the bidding for the 1998 and 2010 World Cups, according to court papers released June 3.

When Blatter actually leaves office, likely in early 2016, the first task facing his elected successor will be to revisit FIFA's decision to stage the 2018 World Cup in Russia and especially the 2022 Cup in Qatar. Michel Platini, one of Blatter's possible replacements and the president of European soccer's governing body, has said that if investigators can prove long-held allegations of bribery in the Qatar victory, the vote should be reopened. "If I were Qatar right now," said Greg Dyke, head of the English Football Association, "I wouldn't be feeling very comfortable."

Rumor and controversy have dogged the decision to hold the world's most popular event in a tiny Gulf nation with triple-digit temperatures in summer and little soccer infrastructure, especially given the humanitarian crisis it has sparked. The International Trade Union Confederation estimates that 1,200 migrant workers from Nepal and India have died there since the bid was awarded in 2010. Prince Ali bin al-Hussein of Jordan, who lost the presidential election to Blatter on May 29, would not rule out reopening the 2022 bid if he led FIFA.

Qatar could end up spending a staggering \$200 billion on World Cup preparations—over 10 times Brazil's record spending for 2014– and recently announced a site for a fifth stadium. Still, FIFA's sponsors, like Coca-Cola and Visa, can pile pressure on the new leadership to reopen the bid. "Now there are very serious allegations of corruption along with very serious allegations of worker abuse," says Stephen Russell, coordinator of the London-based advocacy group Playfair Qatar. "It only takes one of them to say, 'This is no good, we're getting out of there."

And FIFA's new leader can always follow suit.



FEELING GOOD ABOUT FINDING WORK

Gallup asked people in over 130 countries their opinions on local job opportunities. Here's a sampling of how many said they were optimistic:



**66%** Philippines



**51%** U.S.



**34%** India



**22%** Venezuela



**18%** Sudan



**3%** Italy



Blatter after announcing his resignation June 2 at FIFA's headquarters in Zurich

### NIGERIA

## 'We cannot claim to have defeated Boko Haram without rescuing the Chibok girls.'

MUHAMMADU BUHARI, Nigerian President, speaking at his inauguration in Abuja's Eagle Square on May 29. Buhari vowed to tackle "head on" the insurgent Islamist group Boko Haram and to rescue the 276 schoolgirls it kidnapped in April 2014 from Chibok in northern Nigeria, a mass abduction that sparked a global outcry.



WORLD

Share of the



### Tragedy on the Yangtze

**CHINA** Rescuers observe a moment of silence over bodies pulled from the cruise ship *Eastern Star*, which overturned in the Yangtze River during a violent storm on June 1 with 458 people aboard, mostly elderly Chinese tourists. Despite a huge rescue effort by Chinese authorities, only 14 survivors had been found by June 3. The capsizing in Hubei province looks set to be China's deadliest nautical disaster in decades. *Photograph by Yuan Zheng—EPA* 

### THE EXPLAINER

India's Dangerous Smog Problem

Toxic air pollution in the Indian capital of Delhi has given some 2.2 million children irreversible lung damage, according to a 2010 study from the Kolkata-based Chittaranjan National Cancer Institute that surfaced this month. The report has raised fresh concerns in a country where carbon emissions are forecast to increase for decades.

### **Out of breath**

Delhi's air now contains twice as much toxic matter as that of notoriously smoggy Beijing. The health impact has been disastrous, with children in Delhi now three times as likely as others in India to develop severe lung disorders.

### **National issue**

The capital isn't alone: according to the U.N., India has 13 of the world's 20 most polluted cities. Low vehicle-emission standards, booming industrialization, crowded cities and the burning of trash means that the vast majority of Indians breathe unsafe air.

### Limited action

Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched India's first air-quality index in April, but pollution will keep growing unless India stems coal production, which Modi has pledged to double by 2020.

## world's population that the U.S. is legally bound to defend thanks to pacts and treaties signed with over 60 countries, according to a report from the Harvard Belfer Center

### Trending In



### **ELECTIONS**

Turkey will vote for a new parliament on June 7, with recent polls predicting that the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) is unlikely to win the two-thirds majority it needs for President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to push through constitutional changes and strengthen his office's powers.



### HEALTH

South Korea has quarantined over 1,300 people and closed at least 500 schools as it grapples to contain an outbreak of Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS), the largest yet outside the Middle East. The country has confirmed 30 cases, including two deaths.



### HEARTBREAK

Paris city officials removed symbolic "love locks" fastened to the French capital's famed Pont des Arts bridge after parts of the railings collapsed under their weight. The city will remove nearly 1 million padlocks, weighing almost 50 tons, and replace the metal grilles with padlockproof panels.



### **Make a Deal** Negotiating with Iran isn't easy, but it's the smart thing to do By lan Bremmer

THE NUCLEAR DEAL THAT THE U.S., France, Germany, Britain, Russia and China are now negotiating with Iran is one Washington should accept. It's certainly not perfect. Iran won't completely scrap its nuclear program. The agreement would extend Iran's "breakout time"the estimated time the country would need from scrapping the deal to building a bomb—from two to three months to one year. The history of Iran's nuclear program says it will cheat, and inspectors won't catch every violation. In fact, Tehran may already have started, reportedly growing a nuclear stockpile it had promised to freeze. U.S. allies Israel and Saudi Arabia hate the deal, as do many members of Congress, and the Saudis will respond to the lifting of Iranian sanctions with an independent agenda that will stir up even more trouble in the Middle East.

Yet there are several reasons this agreement is better than any available alternative. Some deal opponents refuse to accept anything short of Iran's total surrender. That's not an achievable goal. Iran has come to the table because sanctions

and the loss of access to international capital markets have forced the country there. Though sanctions will be intensified in the short term if Iran balks, the country can't be isolated forever. Russia and China won't allow it, and eventually, even support from U.S. allies for sanctions will erode. Iran will never feel more pain than it feels now—which is why now is the best time to extract from Tehran whatever concessions can be had.

Israel and the Saudis fiercely oppose the deal, but the U.S. should care more that Germany, France and the U.K. have helped broker it. Over time, European allies will have a much larger impact on U.S. security and prosperity than Israel or Saudi Arabia will. The U.S. revolution in domestic energy production helps Washington resist Saudi pressure to act in the Saudis' rather than the U.S.'s interests. And though the U.S. will continue to care deeply about Israel, the Israelis can deter aggression from Iran without further U.S. help.

Then there's the oil angle. As sanctions are lifted, Iran's oil will return to market, putting more downward pressure on

global prices. That will undermine the efforts of Gulf Arab oil producers to pressure Washington into costly, risky entanglements in the Middle East. It will also squeeze Vladimir Putin's Russia, a country that continues to depend on energy exports for half of state revenue and is a much bigger potential threat to U.S. interests than Iran.

Critics say Iran will help terrorists gain nuclear material. But most of the world's jihadis are Sunni Muslims. Why seek weapons from Shi'ite Iran when they can go to Pakistan or cash-starved North Korea? A stronger Iran will have more money to spend on militant groups like Hizballah and Hamas and to prop up Syrian President Bashar Assad, but that can't be prevented forever, and the added revenue might also help Iran combat ISIS.

But instead of continuing to focus on Iran's nukes, Washington should focus on Iran's more dangerous weapons. In 2009—10, a virus known as Stuxnet inflicted significant damage on Iran's ability to enrich uranium. Many experts believe that since that time, Iran has made substantial progress in developing its own cybercapabilities, with attacks on targets that are believed to include Saudi Aramco, the world's largest oil company.

Even if Iran one day builds a nuclear weapon, it's unlikely to use it, for the same reason that Washington and Moscow avoided the use of nuclear weapons throughout the Cold War. Despite sometimes over-the-top rhetoric from Iran's leaders, there's no reason to believe they're suicidal. Cyberweapons are another matter: unlike a nuclear attack, they can be used with deniability. As the U.S. and its allies hash out what could be a historic deal, they should worry less about a weapon Iran will never use and focus instead on the weapons it's already believed to be using.



**Uncertain partner** Many Iranians are as skeptical of the U.S. as the U.S. is of Iran

Foreign-affairs columnist Bremmer is the president of Eurasia Group, a political-risk consultancy

### EDUCATION IS REACHING THE REMOTEST PARTS OF THE PLANET, **THANKS TO GLOBAL TRADE**.

Throughout rural areas, in countries across developing continents, schools are more accessible. In Sub-Saharan Africa, three quarters of all children now attend primary school, 25 years ago it was about half. For millions it could mark the beginning of the end to poverty. This is the power of global trade. Of course there's still a long way to go, but one delivery at a time, the more we keep on trading the better it's going to get for everyone, everywhere. Read more online.



### **Nation**

### **Rising Violence**

After decades of decline, crime ticks back up

**BY JOSH SANBURN** 

IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, VIOLENT CRIME in the U.S. fell to its lowest level since 1978. The culmination of an almost 40-year decline, the drop was celebrated as a product of America's urban revival. But a recent rise in homicides in U.S. cities is raising new questions about how to prevent violent crime at a time when many police forces are moving away from heavy-handed tactics.

In New York City, homicides are up 15% from last year. In Atlanta, they're up 48%. Homicides in Chicago have increased 18%, while murders in St. Louis rose in April by 82% from the year before. Crime tends to increase in warm weather, when more people are outdoors and out of school—and the spring has been warmer than usual. But that doesn't explain the crime spurt many cities are now experiencing.

Some law-enforcement experts cite the fraught relationship between cops and the public following the spate of deadly police shootings and the protests they spawned. They say less-aggressive policing strategies—like NYC's move away from stop and frisk—may have empowered criminals. "It is reasonably clear that increased police-community tensions related to controversial police shootings have contributed to the



**On the beat** Baltimore police faced a record spike in homicides

increases," says Richard Rosenfeld, a criminologist at the University of Missouri at St. Louis. "But that doesn't explain why some cities are up and others are not. Local factors matter."

Dallas and Philadelphia, for example, are still experiencing near record lows in violent crime. The local and national issues converge in Baltimore, which was rocked by riots after Freddie Gray died in police custody on April 19. The city had 43 murders in May—the most since 1971 and double the recent average for the month. Arrests, meanwhile, have plummeted since six officers were indicted in Gray's death.

That suggests a new factor. "It's different now," says Peter Moskos, a John Jay College of Criminal Justice professor and former Baltimore police officer. "Cops are saying, If we're going to get in trouble for well-intentioned mistakes, then f—it, I'm not working." Whether that mind-set endures could help determine if the recent crime increase marks a new era or just a blip.

TERRORISM

### **Unmasking New Threats**

The fatal shooting of Usaama Ibrahim on a Boston street on June 2 after he lunged at officers with a knife illustrates only too vividly the increasingly atomized nature of the domestic terrorism threat.

Long gone is the command-andcontrol hierarchy of al-Qaeda. Now investigators must scan for threats that can pop up wherever social media connects extremist doctrine with determined individuals.

Ibrahim, 26, who had written online that he intended to kill a cop, was reportedly plotting an unspecified attack with others, one of whom was in custody. Such a plan would mark a dangerous new development. Up to now, the domestic attacks inspired by ISIS have largely been impulsive.

The group appears chiefly intent on gaining ground in Syria and Iraq. But terrorism experts warn that it will inevitably train its fire on Western targets. And with 46,000 sympathetic Twitter accounts worldwide, according to a Brookings Institution study, distinguishing pretenders from credible threats will be a daunting challenge.

—KARL VICK

### **The Rundown**

AIRPORT SECURITY The Department of Homeland Security removed the acting head of the Transportation Security Administration on June 1 after tests found that airport screeners failed to detect banned items 95% of the time. TSA agents at dozens of the busiest U.S. airports allowed fake explosives and weapons to pass through checkpoints in 67 out of 70 instances.

**GUNS** Texas is poised to become the eighth state to allow people to carry concealed firearms in buildings on college campuses after the "campus-carry" bill passed the state legislature May 31. The measure, which Republican governor Greg Abbott is expected to sign into law, allows private colleges to opt out and lets public schools designate gun-free zones.

RACE

**75%** 

The percentage of wages earned by full-time black and Latino retail workers relative to their white counterparts, according to a June 2 report from the NAACP and the liberal think tank Demos.

HEALTH The rate of U.S. diagnoses for melanoma, the deadliest form of skin cancer, has doubled in the past 30 years, from 11.2 cases per 100,000 people in 1982 to 22.7 cases per 100,000 in 2011, according to a Centers for Disease Control and Prevention study released June 2. As a result, the agency expects the cost of melanoma care to nearly triple, from \$457 million in 2011 to \$1.6 billion in 2030.

BALTIMORE: ANDREW RENNEISEN; ABBOTT: GETTY IMAGES



### Rand's Stand By outmaneuvering the Senate, he took on his own party. Payback is coming

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

IN A CHAMBER OF DARK TAILORED SUITS, the rebel wore khakis, a cherry red tie to match his campaign color and an occasional smirk. He seized the U.S. Senate with magic words of parliamentary procedure and forced change upon the world's most powerful intelligence agency. "I challenge the ruling of the chair," Kentucky Senator Rand Paul said. "I request a live quorum call." Then, simply: "I object."

With that, the clock ran out on key parts of the USA Patriot Act, the legal anchor of the nation's Sept. 11 response. The once secret National Security Agency telephone-record vacuum made famous by Edward Snowden went silent, and a simmering debate over the identity of the GOP burst again into view. "This is what we fought the revolution over," Paul thundered, with a warning to his party: "80% of those under 40 say we have gone too far."

It looked more like a Hollywood remake than the real thing: the Senator standing alone, speaking of tyranny and duplicity. But that is the drama baked into this scrambled 2016 field. A Republican who rose to power suggesting that Vice President Dick Cheney pushed the Iraq War to profit Halliburton now polls among the

top three GOP candidates in Iowa and New Hampshire. "Defeat the Washington machine," runs his campaign slogan, and he doesn't just mean the federal bureaucracy. "ISIS is all over Libya," Paul said recently about the Islamic radicals on the march, "because these same hawks in my party loved Hillary Clinton's war in Libya."

His political thesis is generational, the vision of a son hoping to fulfill the destiny of his father Ron, a three-time presidential candidate. The old guard, Rand reasons,

### **NEW SPY RULES**

### **WHO COLLECTS** THE DATA

Before: The NSA secretly compiled a database with records for virtually all phone calls in the U.S.

After: Telephone companies will be required to maintain separate databases of their own records

### **WHO SEARCHES** THE DATA

Before: NSA analysts could decide to mine the data in the course of a terrorism investigation

After: NSA lawyers will have to seek a court order on a particular target to perform any search

will be driven out of power one \$5 fundraising tweet at a time, along with its vision of an America that can police the world and collect data on its citizens. "This is a Bushera generation of Republicans who are on their last legs," explains Representative Justin Amash, a Michigan Republican who shares the vision. "They are upset with this new generation of Republicans who are more in touch with the people."

But if there is one thing to know about national-security hawks, it is that they don't shy from a fight. Out in Wyoming, Cheney, now 74, has planned a September assault on Paul as an "isolationist," which he previewed from a high-country rodeo for the Wall Street Journal. After a brief truce, former Republican nominee John McCain denounced Paul as "the worst candidate that we could put forward." And faceless front groups, working with conservative pundits, lay in wait, ready and willing to launch attacks, like the \$1 million television buy that greeted Paul's entry into the race, accusing him of partnership with President Obama for supporting negotiations with Iran.

Then there are the other Republicans in the race, not one of whom spoke up to defend Paul's stand on the Senate floor. They, too, read the polls but focus instead on those who currently claim to be GOPprimary voters, a group that now counts national security and terrorism as the top issue of 2016. "The best test of a political marketplace is where people go," taunts South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham, a boots-on-the-ground hawk who launched his own campaign on June 1. "And people are tripping over each other to try to kick Rand Paul."

But Paul has already won this round. With the spying authorities expired, majority leader Mitch McConnell rushed a compromise to the floor, which he warned would be "a resounding victory for those who plotted against our homeland." By a vote of 67 to 32, the government's secret database of American phone records ended in favor of a new system that forces phone companies to gather and store the information, which is accessible to court order by specific request.

Unsatisfied with this win, Paul voted

"Nay." It was a rebel's cry, a sign that the fight will go on.

### **Lone Star Do-Over**

Rick Perry has practically moved to lowa. Why that may not be enough

BY PHILIP ELLIOTT

WHEN RICK PERRY IS ON HIS GAME, HE'S one of the best hand-to-hand politicians around. He can blow the doors off Republican confabs, loves to kiss babies and flirts with old ladies with surprising conviction. But when he's off, watching him feels almost cruel. His most loyal advisers averted their eyes when he imploded during his last campaign, which essentially ended when he uttered the word that summed up his 2012 White House effort: "Oops."

Perry is set to try again and plans to launch a second bid for the GOP nomination on June 4. He says he has recovered from the back surgery that left him addled during late 2011 and early 2012. He is working with policy tutors so he can go beyond the tropes. He even hired a public-speaking consulting firm run by an alumnus of the Royal Shakespeare Company. Perry knows his last attempt was a disaster and is trying to prevent a sequel. "I will just suggest that I was naive in thinking that I had a grasp of the issues that you need to be able to discuss at length and in depth," Perry says during an interview with TIME.

By planning a Dallas-area announcement, flanked by former Navy SEALs and Marines, Perry hopes to remind voters of his years flying C-130 cargo planes as an active-duty Air Force captain. Citing his military service and Texas' economic growth on his watch as governor, Perry says he is uniquely qualified among the crowded 2016 field. "I don't want to sit on the porch and be retired when I think that I have something to give to this country," Perry, 65, says.

Slinking into retirement is not Perry's style. The hard-charging onetime cotton farmer has spent 30 days in Iowa—the most of all the GOP hopefuls—since the start of 2013, working to convince Hawkeyes that he is not the dolt they saw on television during the last run. He traded in his tooled cowboy boots for boring black or-



thotics and now favors hipster specs. During a recent stop in Holstein, Iowa (pop. 1,396), Perry boasted that businesses in his state added 1.4 million jobs from 2007 to 2014, his final year in office. Standing in a VFW hall, Perry made it sound easy: "Governing is not actually rocket science."

RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT, HOWEVER, REquires a political machine, and Perry's has fallen apart. His chief strategist from 2012 is sitting out Perry 2.0. His pollster from the last round is working for Kentucky Senator Rand Paul. And Perry's ad maven is creating a media strategy for Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal. At the same time, Perry is four years older in a race that, for the moment, seems to favor newcomers. While 59% of likely Iowa caucus participants have a favorable view of Perry, only 3% named him their top pick in a recent Des Moines Register poll. Fresh-faced Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker, 47, leads the field of 16 contenders with 17% support.

Perry's task now is to convince Iowans that he can do for America what he did for Texas. He is dismissing an abuse-of-power indictment hanging over him as baseless and politically motivated. Meanwhile, he's asking forgiveness for his performance four years ago, which turned him into a punch line. On his first trip to Iowa as a candidate, in 2011, he suggested that Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke was "almost treasonous" and Americans

might "treat him pretty ugly." He delivered such a loopy speech in New Hampshire that organizers felt compelled to hold a follow-up press conference to deny that Perry was drunk or high. At the rear of hotel ballrooms and diners across Iowa and New Hampshire, aides and reporters exchanged knowing looks as his campaign events veered off-script. But Americans love a comeback story, and Perry is betting his will sell.

Yet he is facing a far more impressive field of rivals than before and will enjoy far less room for error. Whether he can erase the memory of his 2012 implosion, witnessed in real time over 23 excruciating weeks, is unclear; it's among the first questions Perry gets from party activists and donors alike. His diminished prospects are one of the reasons Steve Munisteri, who led the Texas GOP for four years under Perry, is now a top adviser for Paul's campaign.

That's not Perry's only challenge. Fox News is limiting participation in the first GOP debate, to be held on Aug. 6, to just the top 10 candidates in national polls. That would leave Perry offstage as things stand now. But he finds some comfort in a recent poll of Republican-minded voters that showed that only 4% of respondents definitely could not support him.

Perry's advisers now are trying to keep their candidate from adding to that tally in the upcoming Fox debate—if Perry can get into it.







### WELL ARMED

The LG Watch Urbane, the Genuine Smartpiece. Equipped with Android Wear, it can send texts, deliver notifications, give turn-by-turn directions, sync and play your favorite tracks, and more. With its interchangeable leatherstraps and classic gold or silver finishes, it proves the future of innovation can indeed be timeless.

android

### Genuine Smartpiece LG Watch Urbane



LG Watchus

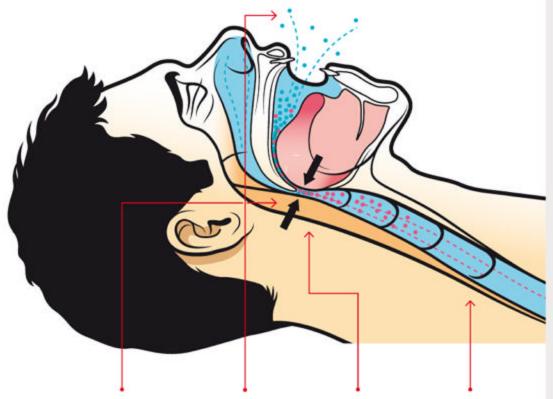


### Health

### **He Snoozes, He Loses?** Sleep apnea is increasingly common—and often undiagnosed

BY ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN

TAKE PITY ON THE SNORER. HE MAY WREAK BEDTIME HAVOC ON HIS BUNKMATE, BUT HIS snoring may also signal that something serious is going on under the hood. Not all people who snore have an underlying health problem. But those with sleep apnea, a disorder in which people momentarily stop breathing while they sleep, nearly always snore. Experts speculate that the number of people with the disorder is on the rise—up to 25 million Americans, most of them men—because of obesity. Although the disorder requires a visit to a sleep specialist to diagnose, the consequences of untreated sleep apnea are as serious as they are unexpected. A new study found that men with the disorder were twice as likely to be depressed as men without it. But breathing devices, lifestyle changes and surgery can improve the overall health of unknowing sufferers (not to mention that of their bedmates).



How Sleep Apnea Works In obstructive sleep apnea (OSA), a blockage or collapse in the airway makes it hard for oxygen to reach the lungs. The air that does get through the blockage can result in snoring.

That lack of air in the lungs—not the snoring—causes blood-oxygen levels to plummet, leading the brain to interrupt sleep. In central sleep apnea, which is less common, the brain doesn't correctly send signals to the muscles that control breathing. As with OSA, that lack of airflow lowers blood-oxygen levels, which triggers the brain to interrupt sleep, sometimes resulting in a gasp. This often happens repeatedly throughout the night.



Surprising
Symptoms of
Sleep Apnea
Besides
Drowsiness

### MORNING HEADACHES

When you're not getting enough oxygen, carbon dioxide can build up in the brain, dilating blood vessels and causing headaches.

### **MOOD SWINGS**

A consistent lack of sleep or interrupted sleep can present itself in the form of irritability, personality changes and even depression.

### **HEART PROBLEMS**

High blood pressure could be a sign of untreated sleep apnea; fluctuating oxygen levels put a lot of stress on the body.

### **SENIOR MOMENTS**

People with sleep apnea may experience memory or learning problems, possibly because of the effects of a lack of oxygen to the brain.



### **Milestones**



Biden, left, with his father Joe, died of brain cancer on May 30 at 46

### **Beau Biden**

### American son

**By Ted Kaufman** 

Beau Biden was special right from the beginning. I met him in 1973, when he was 4, a year after the accident that killed his mother and younger sister. His father Joe Biden had just been elected to the U.S. Senate.

As a kid, Beau always went by the rules. He became a natural leader. But he also had this inner drive to never cut corners.

Beau was like his father: his priority was protecting the powerless from the powerful. After law school, he went to work for the Justice Department and became involved in tracking child predators, work he continued as Delaware attorney general.

Beau joined the National Guard in 2003. He wanted to do his part to help prevent something like 9/11 from ever happening again. When he came back from Iraq, many urged him to run for his father's Senate seat, but he felt he had to finish out his term. He was re-elected attorney general in 2010 by a huge margin.

Beau's actions were not like those of most folks involved in politics. He broke a lot of the rules of how you advance your career. He never took the easy road. He would not allow things to be given to him; he wanted to earn them.

Beau had an unlimited future ahead of him. His passing has left a hole in many lives.

Kaufman served 22 years on then Senator Joe Biden's staff and filled Biden's Senate seat from 2009 to 2010

Betsv Palmer. 88.

DIED

actress best known for her role as the killer cook in the slasher film Friday the 13th. In later years, she admitted to taking the part to pay for a new Volkswagen.

### SENTENCED Ross Ulbricht.

founder of the Internet black market Silk Road, to life in prison. Also known as the "Dread Pirate Roberts," Ulbricht ran an illicit market where users sold drugs and other illegal goods.

### DIED Charles Kennedy.

55, who led Britain's Liberal Democrats from 1999 to 2006 and was a vocal critic of the Iraq War. Prime Minister David Cameron remembered him as a "talented politician."

### NAMED

Spain's El Celler de Can Roca, to the top spot on the World's 50 Best Restaurants list, the position it held previously in 2013: the formerly top-ranked Noma, in Denmark, is now No. 3.

### RULED

By the Supreme Court, that Abercrombie & Fitch could be sued for discrimination for not hiring a woman because she wore a hijab that went against its "look policy.'

INDICTED

### **Dennis Hastert**

### Former Speaker

**Dennis Hastert is no stranger** to scandal. The lascivious activities of colleagues bookended his tenure as the longest-serving Republican Speaker of the House. But the news that Hastert had been indicted for allegedly lying to the FBI about hush money he'd paid a former acquaintance shook Washington.

The indictment, announced May 28, was shrouded in mystery. Prosecutors allege Hastert was seeking to cover up "prior misconduct" against an unidentified person. Hastert had known this person for most of his or her life, dating back to Hastert's time as a high school teacher and coach in Yorkville, III. Multiple news organizations, including the Los Angeles Times, the New York Times and the Associated Press, cited unnamed sources in reporting that the conduct Hastert allegedly paid to cover up was sexual in nature.

Those reports have cast an added layer of mystery over the case. But when the 73-year-old former lobbyist appears before a federal judge on June 9-he has so far declined to commentmany questions will remain unanswered.

Regardless, a longtime pol who was lauded for playing it straight even as colleagues went bad now risks having his legacy read more like a plotline from House of Cards. -MAYA RHODAN

Hastert



## LISTRATIONS BY MARTIN GEF FOR TIME

### Martin Feldstein

### **America's Next Economic Crisis?**

The Fed kept the engine from stalling. Getting it to speed again will be harder

HE U.S. ECONOMY HAS, BY AND LARGE, recovered from the financial crisis of 2008–09. The Federal Reserve's strategy of keeping interest rates exceptionally low led to rebounds in the stock market, housing prices and consumer demand, which in turn chipped away at unemployment. The difficulty now is getting the economy to grow again while the Fed returns interest rates to normal.

The Fed's challenge is made more complex by the negative effects of both short- and long-term interest rates being so low, which have induced investors and lenders to take additional risks. The most obvious form of such risk taking is buying longer-term securities. Since long-term bonds pay higher interest rates than Treasury bills or money-market funds, investors have been tempted to buy them. When the interest rate on 10-year Treasury bonds rises from about 2.2% now to a more traditional yield of about 5%, the current buyers of long-term bonds will experience a substantial loss should they try to sell them before maturity. Similar dynamics—and their potentially hazardous consequences—are at play in the stock market and real estate.

The Low-interest-rate environment combined with the recent changes in government bank regulations has created a problem that I call a liquidity mismatch. Low interest rates have led to an enormous increase in the issuance of corporate bonds. Many of these bonds have been bought by traditional mutual funds and exchange-traded funds. The individuals who have invested in those funds believe—rightly—that they have complete liquidity, that they can demand cash for their investments on a day's notice. To meet that call for cash, the mutual funds must sell the bonds they hold.

It is not clear, however, who will buy those bonds. The traditional buyers in such stress situations have been commercial banks. But those banks have been discouraged from playing that role by the Dodd-Frank banking legislation and by the capital requirements that raise the cost of holding bonds for banks. The result of this liquidity mismatch could be very sharp declines in bond prices when investors begin to sell.

The increased risk taking created by the Fed's policy of exceptionally low interest rates involves lenders as well as investors. To maintain their prof-

RISKY BUSINESS



### JUNK BONDS

The number of companies offering junk-rated debt is up 26% since 2013. Buyers are investors seeking higher returns; more than \$12 billion net has been invested in these bonds so far this year.



### MARGIN DEBT

The amount of money that investors borrowed against their investment portfolios, or on margin, reached a record high on the NYSE in April, a sign of overconfidence in the stock market.

its, banks and other lenders are extending credit to high-risk borrowers, including those who already owe substantial amounts of debt. And the terms of recent bank loans are more lenient, with so-called covenant-lite loans imposing fewer requirements on borrowers and therefore providing less protection to the lenders.

or its part, the federal reserve intends to keep interest rates exceptionally low. The Fed acknowledges that the short-term federal-funds rate should eventually rise to about 4% from the near-zero level it is at today. But the Open Market Committee, which sets Fed policy, is predicting that it will keep that rate at less than the rate of inflation through 2016. Even by the end of 2017, the federal-funds rate will exceed inflation by only about 1%. This rate is too low for an economy that is already so close to full employment.

The Fed is pursuing its strategy of very low interest rates for two reasons. First, it would like to increase demand in order to reduce the current low unemployment rate even more. While there is no doubt that there are people who would like to work full time but cannot find a job, the Fed's goal of an unemployment rate below 5% is unsustainable and will lead to more rapidly rising inflation. Second, the Fed fears that the financial markets will react to rising short-term rates by pushing up longer-term rates, widening credit spreads and reducing equity values. That in turn could destabilize the economy.

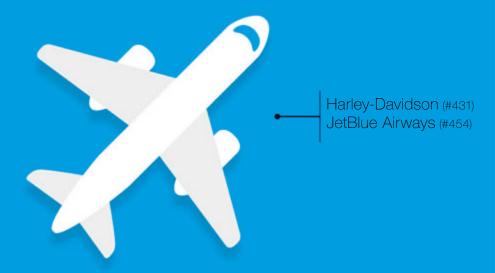
The danger, though, is that by waiting, the Fed will be forced by the arrival of higher inflation rates to raise the federal-funds rate more rapidly than it and the financial markets now anticipate, causing greater instability in bond and equity markets with adverse effects on the real economy.

The Fed's hope to return interest rates to traditional levels without destabilizing the economy is an understandable goal, but it may not be an achievable one. The Fed used the unconventional monetary policy of exceptionally low interest rates for an extended period of time to cure a very deep recession. It succeeded in doing that, but the country may have to pay a price for this extreme policy. Only time will tell.

Feldstein, the George F. Baker Professor of Economics at Harvard University, was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Reagan Administration

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### **Democrats Get a Primary**

Why candidates O'Malley and Sanders will make it a race



IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT MARTIN O'Malley, the former governor of Maryland, got off the first sledgehammer line of the 2016 Democratic primary campaign when he announced his can-

didacy on May 30: "Recently the CEO of Goldman Sachs"—the huge investment bank—"let his employees know that he'd be just fine with either Bush or Clinton." And here O'Malley paused for effect. "I bet he would!" He went on, as a ripple of laughter and cheers swept the crowd, "Well, I've got news for the bullies of Wall Street. The presidency of the United States is not a crown to be passed back and forth, by you, between two royal families."

The zinger captured the current 2016 campaign zeitgeist on several levels. There is a yeasty populism rising in both parties. Among the Democrats, it's anti-Big Business; for the Republicans, it is anti-Big Government (and labor). There is also a rising discomfort with the aforementioned royalist candidates, Jeb Bush and Hillary Clinton. Bush's relatively moderate conservatism separates him from the pack temperamentally, but he is hardly the front runner at this point. No one is. Clinton is very much the presumptive Democrat, but not a very dynamic or compelling one. Indeed, the entry of O'Malley and Vermont's Bernie Sanders into the race during the last week of May produced something of an energy jolt among Democrats, who have a preternatural need for a horse race, even when the horses are lame, and a long-festering desire for an ideological fight between left and center.

T SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE THAT SANDERS seems to be catching fire among the leftish faithful, drawing big crowds and scoring double digits in an Iowa poll. He is a recognizable Democratic type the prophet scorned, gushing rumpled authenticity. Usually, this phenomenon occurs when Democrats find themselves enmeshed in a foolish war: Eugene McCarthy in 1968, George McGovern in 1972, Howard Dean in 2004. Sanders' distinction is that he is an economic Jeremiah, pitchforking the depredations of Wall Street. This is fertile turf. It is a fight that has been coming since moderate Democrats began courting Wall Street donors in the mid-1980s. Bill and Hillary Clinton's wanton sloshing about in the plutocratic pigpen of their foundation makes it a particularly fat target this time. Sanders flies commercial.

But the populist case against the Clinton-Obama

THE NEW **DEMOCRATIC** POPULISM



The 73-year-old has attracted seniors and vounger adults with his goal of expanding Social Security, his criticism of the political establishment and his plan to tax the wealthiest Americans



He has zeroed in on Wall Street, "Tell me how it is that you can get pulled over for a broken taillight," he said last month, "but if you wreck the nation's economy you are untouchable.

TO READ JOE'S BLOG POSTS, GO TO time.com/swampland

economic policies has real substance as well. It is no coincidence that the fundamental distortion of the American economy, with the deck stacked to benefit the financial sector, also dates back 30 years, when Democratic Congresses began to slip pro-bank provisions into the tax code, reaching a peak during the Clinton Administration with the demolition of the wall between commercial and investment banking and the flagrant refusal to regulate exotic derivative financial instruments—which, in turn, led to the Great Recession.

Both Sanders and O'Malley would take specific action against the Wall Street giants. They would break up the too-big-to-fail banks; they would reinstate the Glass-Steagall rules that used to separate legitimate banking from casino gambling. And if O'Malley got off the best zinger of the early campaign, Sanders has the best policy proposal: a tax on Wall Street transactions, tiny enough to impact only the computer-driven churning that makes the markets more volatile than they should be. He would spend some of the proceeds on a \$1 trillion infrastructureimprovement program that would create, Sanders estimates, 13 million jobs—another good idea.

This should be a bright line in the primary, the most important substantive issue facing Hillary Clinton: How would she reform the tax and regulatory codes that unduly favor the financial sector?

WENT TO AN O'MALLEY HOUSE PARTY IN GILFORD, N.H., on the last day of May and met Johan Anderson, 68, who had been a successful sales executive but is now working two minimum-wage jobs to augment his Social Security. He had been a Republican and a town official in Stamford, Conn., "back in the days when you could be a Republican and a human being"—that is, before the party's rightward lurch. Now he was engaged in the ancient New Hampshire pursuit of candidate shopping. "I really respect Hillary Clinton," he said. "She's obviously very smart and experienced. But I wonder about her leadership abilities. She made a mess of her health care plan [in 1994], and she didn't organize her last campaign very well [in 2008]. My heart is with Bernie Sanders. I'd love to vote for him, but can he win? O'Malley is young [52] and brings a real freshness and energy to the race."

I'm not sure how many people like Anderson are out there: perhaps enough to make Clinton a better candidate, perhaps enough to give her a scare. But there will definitely be a Democratic primary.

NATION

# the PRICE of RELIEF

WHY AMERICA CAN'T KICK ITS PAINKILLER PROBLEM

By MASSIMO CALABRESI



From patient to addict When her doctor cut off her pain medication two years after a car accident, Tiffany Turner turned to the black market On a chilly evening in late March, Dan McClain was getting ready for dinner when his cell phone rang: Indiana Governor Mike Pence wanted to talk.

Over the previous two months a fast-spreading outbreak of HIV had torn through Scott County, a poor, rural pocket 20 miles from the Kentucky border where McClain has been sheriff since 2011. What began as eight new HIV cases in January had ballooned to 81 by March, quickly becoming the worst HIV outbreak in Indiana's history. Pence, a Republican and stalwart social conservative, wanted to know how to stop it.

McClain, 52, a squared-away former Navy SEAL whose politics tend to align with the governor's, had an answer, but it wasn't the one Pence wanted to hear. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) had traced the HIV outbreak to Scott County residents who were dissolving and then injecting a powerful prescription pill called Opana that is meant to treat long-term, around-the-clock pain. Their addiction was so severe that abusers were shooting up as often as 20 times a day, repeatedly sharing the same dirty needles. The CDC even found a family that regularly passed one syringe among three generations.

"We need a needle exchange to get clean needles to these people so they're not spreading anymore,"

Opioids are pain relievers with a similar chemical structure to heroin

### Common opioids and their commercial names

HYDROCODONE (Vicodin)

HYDROMORPHONE (Dilaudid)

> MEPERIDINE (Demerol)

METHADONE (Dolophine)

MORPHINE (Roxanol)

OXYCODONE (OxyContin, Percocet)

OXYMORPHONE (Opana)



McClain told Pence. The governor has consistently opposed needle exchanges, but in this case Pence made an exception. Two days after his call with McClain, Pence issued an emergency order overruling a state law and allowing a syringe-swapping program in the region.

This is not a story about dark alleys and drug dealers. It starts in doctors' offices with everyday people seeking relief from pain and suffering. Around the nation, doctors so frequently prescribe the drugs known as opioids for chronic pain from conditions like arthritis, migraines and lower-back injuries that there are enough pills prescribed every year to keep every American adult medicated around the clock for a month. The longer patients stay on the drugs, which are chemically related to heroin and trigger a similar biological response, including euphoria, the higher the chances users will become addicted. When doctors, regulators and law-enforcement officials try to curb access, addicted patients buy the pills on the black market, where they are plentiful. And when those supplies run short, people who would never have dreamed of shooting up, like suburban moms and middle-class professionals, seek



respite from the pain of withdrawal with the more potent method of dissolving and injecting the pills' contents, or going straight to heroin.

The result is a national epidemic. The CDC has linked outbreaks of the potentially deadly hepatitis C virus in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia to prescription-painkiller injections. The agency has warned every health care provider in the country to be on the lookout for a rise in HIV. Of the 9.4 million Americans who take opioids for long-term pain, 2.1 million are estimated by the National Institutes of Health to be hooked and are in danger of turning to the black market. Now 4 of 5 heroin addicts say they came to the drug from prescription painkillers. An average of 46 Americans die every day from prescription-opioid overdoses, and heroin deaths have more than doubled, to 8,000 a year, since 2010. For middle-aged Americans, who are most at risk, a prescription-opioid overdose is a more likely cause of death than an auto accident or a violent crime.

It took a tragic combination of good intentions, criminal deception and feckless oversight to turn America's desire to relieve its pain into such

### On the front lines

Scott County sheriff
Dan McClain opposed
needle exchanges until
an HIV outbreak
threatened to take
over the towns he
patrols. Now he's
expanding county
programs to treat
prescription-drug
addicts

widespread suffering. Most everyone has played a role. Weak research opened the door to overuse of opioids. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved ever more powerful drugs for long-term use based only on evidence of their short-term safety and efficacy. Two pharmaceutical companies pleaded guilty to criminal charges that they misleadingly marketed the drugs as safe. Too many doctors embraced the easy solution of treating pain by writing a prescription.

All now agree that the opioid epidemic is a terrible problem, but few are taking responsibility. It has fallen to local law enforcement and health professionals to clean up the mess as addiction and abuse ravage their communities. It's not easy. The same medical associations that once pressured doctors to hand out opioids liberally now issue conflicting advice over how to combat the problem they helped create. Government scientists admit they have no idea when and whether it's safe to use opioids to treat long-term pain. Meanwhile, the 2016 presidential candidates are feeling genuine grassroots pressure on the issue. Hillary Clinton is increasingly talking about the "quiet epidemic" after hearing from people in the early-voting states of New Hampshire, Iowa and South Carolina. Kentucky Senator Rand Paul co-sponsored a bill to make medically assisted addiction treatment more widely available. And Carly Fiorina, whose daughter struggled with painkillers before dying at age 35, has called for "decriminalizing" drug addiction.

In Scott County, however, officials have learned that national attention doesn't always mean things get better. Two years ago, the FDA noted in a letter to the maker of Opana, Endo Pharmaceuticals, that its new, supposedly "abuse deterrent" version of the drug appeared to be driving addicts to inject it intravenously rather than snort it. Now local lawenforcement, health care and social-welfare officials are scrambling to contain the HIV outbreak that has since overwhelmed the county. Brittany Combs, a public-health nurse who runs the new needleexchange program, says Opana's grip on those who become dependent is strong. As she hands out bags full of clean needles from the back of her white SUV, she explains that most addicts run through at least 60 syringes per week. "They don't use it to get high," she says. "They have to inject that many times a day just to get up and do something, just to function."

### **How America Got Hooked**

AN ESTIMATED 100 MILLION AMERICANS SUFFER from chronic pain, and a quarter of them say it is severe enough to limit their quality of life, according to the Institutes of Medicine. Some get injured at work, others develop arthritis as they age, while others battle chronic diseases like lupus. For much of the 20th century, these patients would receive little more than over-the-counter drugs such as aspirin and acetaminophen for their pain. Codeine

TIME June 15, 2015 29

and morphine, like their pharmacological cousins heroin and opium, provide powerful short-term relief from broken bones or for recovery from surgery. But because the drugs were viewed as dangerously addictive, legal and professional restrictions meant only those suffering from terminal cancer were likely to have long-term access to opioids.

This began to change in the late 1980s. Researchers started publishing anecdotal surveys suggesting that those rules meant that millions of people might be suffering needlessly. One particularly influential 1986 paper by Dr. Russell Portenoy and Kathleen Foley looked at the experience of 38 patients and concluded, cautiously, that if you were in pain, you might be able to safely take opioids for months or even years without becoming hooked. "Drug abuse is highly prevalent, especially in some cities, in some subpopulations and in some patients with psychiatric diseases," Portenoy tells Time. For others with no personal or family history of addiction, he says, drug abuse is a "very, very low risk."

That was a hypothesis some drug companies were ready to test, and soon enough they were applying to the government for permission to do so. Figuring out whether prescription drugs are safe and effective is the job of the FDA, but with the long-term use of opioids, the agency faced a challenge. There were no reliable studies proving opioids worked safely against chronic pain, because it would be unethical to require pain patients in a control group to go months on end without medication. "It's not practical for us to require people to go for a year on a placebo," says Janet Woodcock, head of the FDA's Center for Drug Evaluation and Research.

Instead, Woodcock says, the FDA followed its practice of extrapolating short-term studies to long-term use. When Purdue Pharmaceuticals sought permission from the FDA in 1994 to market a powerful new opioid, OxyContin, to treat moderate to severe pain for extended periods of time, the FDA signed off and went so far as to tell doctors the drug "would result in less abuse potential" since it was absorbed more slowly than other opioid formulations. Over the next 20 years, the FDA would approve more than two dozen new brand-name and generic extended-release opioid products for treating long-term pain, including Endo Pharmaceuticals' Opana in 2006. "No one anticipated," says Woodcock, "the clinical community would take to this and start giving it out like water."

At the same time the new drugs were coming on the market, medical associations and legislatures were telling doctors they should use them. More than 20 states passed laws and regulations designed to expand opioid prescription, including by requiring doctors to inform patients of the drugs' availability and by making it harder to prosecute physicians who handed them out liberally. In 1998 the Federation of State Medical Boards (FSMB) issued new guidelines for doctors prescribing opioids, saying they could be "essential" for the treatment of





Faces of the crisis
Public-health nurse
Brittany Combs,
top, hands out
clean needles by the
bagful, but getting
addicts like John
Baker, above, off the
powerful prescription
painkillers is a
challenge

chronic pain and neglecting to warn of the risk of overdose. The standard-setting Joint Commission on Accreditation of Health Care Organizations in 1999 required doctors to measure pain as part of their basic assessment of a patient's health, which had the effect of elevating pain to the same level of importance as objective measurements like temperature and heart rate. Hospitals began displaying posters bearing smiley and frowny faces to help patients indicate levels of pain. (The FSMB says it had to offer doctors its best guidance for using opioids once the FDA approved the drugs.)

In many ways, opioid advocates were pushing on an open door, as many doctors and patients welcomed the loosened environment. With insurance companies limiting the duration of patient visits to increase efficiency, prescribing opioids became an easy option for treating a patient complaining of pain.

Just in case doctors weren't getting the message, opioid makers went on a marketing blitz. According to government studies and court documents, several companies were particularly active in targeting continuing-medical-education courses, which doctors must take to maintain their licenses. Purdue funded more than 20,000 pain-related educational programs, including some run by the Joint Commission, according to a 2003 Government Accountability Office report. In 2007 opioid makers provided the FSMB \$586,620 to help publish a book version of federation guidelines that said opioid pain treatment was essential, according to a suit brought by the city of Chicago in June 2014.

In some cases, regulators, doctors and patients were criminally misled into believing opioids were safe and effective. In 2007 the Department of Justice accused Purdue of deceptively telling doctors Oxy-Contin was safer and less addictive than other drugs. The company and several executives pleaded guilty to misleading doctors and were fined \$635 million. In 2008, Cephalon paid \$425 million in fines partly for marketing its Actiq opioid, which was shaped like a lollipop, for use against migraines and sicklecell pain, conditions for which the drug had not been found safe and effective. Actiq withdrew its lollipop, but by then there was no shortage of other opioids available.

By 2011 the number of opioid prescriptions written for pain treatment had tripled to 219 million. By 2014, in some small towns in the southeastern U.S., between one-sixth and one-eighth of the population was taking opioids for more than a month, according to one survey. Such extended use can create resistance to the drug's effects, leading abusers to increase the amounts they take and putting them at risk of a fatal overdose. By 2011, 17,000 Americans were dying every year from prescription-opioid overdoses.

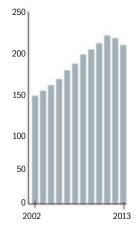
### **Opana Comes to Scott County**

THIS RISING TIDE OF ADDICTION HAS TOUCHED nearly every corner of the country, including thriving cities like Chicago, New York and San Francisco. But the epidemic is harder to manage in places like Scott County, where poverty, isolation and substandard health care systems leave residents particularly vulnerable. Tiffany Turner found that out the hard way. Other than pot in high school, she says she never used drugs. But after breaking four vertebrae in a 2012 car accident, her doctor gave her opioids. Turner, 28, stayed on the drugs to function at work and soon became hooked, taking them regularly for two years.

By then, with addiction rampant in the county, area doctors were mobilizing to cut patients off. The only pain clinic in Scott County shut down, and several doctors refused to prescribe opioids at all. With her husband ill from renal disease (he died in 2014) and bills mounting, Turner felt she had to

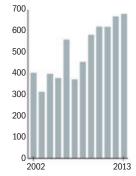
Tighter regulation has stemmed the rise in opioid prescriptions, making it harder to get the drugs ...

### Opioid prescriptions dispensed by U.S. retail pharmacies, in millions



... but has helped drive the black market and fuel an increase in heroin consumption

Population that has used heroin in the past year, in thousands



self-medicate to keep her job. "I went to the street," she says. Even amid Scott County's crackdown, the local black market was flush with opioids. Opana was selling for \$25 to \$30 a pill, and she started shooting it up.

In 2010, as law enforcement was cracking down on pill mills around the nation, Endo Pharmaceuticals declared the strategic goal of making Opana the No. 2 treatment for moderate to severe long-term pain after OxyContin, according to the court documents filed in the Chicago case. One of the ways the company aimed to increase market share was by assuring doctors it was safe. Endo created a website and funded advertising supplements—which sometimes didn't identify Endo as the author—that suggested its opioids weren't addictive, according to the allegations in the Chicago case. "People who take opioids as prescribed usually do not become addicted," one publication said. Another said, "most health care providers who treat people with pain agree that most people do not develop an addiction problem." Neither of these statements is untrue.

Endo paid Russell Portenoy, the co-author of the 1986 paper on opioid use for pain patients, to edit a supplement to a peer-reviewed pain journal touting Opana that Endo's sales team distributed to doctors, according to the Chicago filings. (Portenoy says he doesn't remember editing that supplement but says he did such work earlier in his career.) The marketing push was felt in southern Indiana. "There was a big drive to use Opana because somehow that would be safer," recalls Dr. Shane Avery, a primary-care physician in Scott County. Doctors weren't the only ones making the shift from OxyContin to Opana. At first, the drug killed Scott County's black-market users outright. In 2011, Scott County saw 21 deaths from Opana overdoses; in 2012 there were 19, Mc-Clain and other officials say. Then, as addicts began to adjust their dosage and deaths came down in late 2012, Endo introduced a version of Opana that it said was "abuse deterrent." In a filing to the FDA in 2012, Endo claimed its new formulation of Opana "would provide a reduction in oral, intranasal or intravenous abuse" thanks to a special coating on the pill.

But the FDA wasn't buying it. In May 2013, the FDA's Woodcock sent a letter to Endo warning that there was no evidence to support that conclusion. Worse, the FDA found that the new "abuse deterrent" coating on Opana seemed to make injecting easier than snorting. Woodcock said this raised "the troubling possibility that the reformulation may be shifting a nontrivial amount of Opana ER abuse from snorting to even more dangerous abuse by intravenous or subcutaneous injection." Yet Endo told its sales staff to repeat its claim that Opana was "designed" to be abuse deterrent anyway, according to documents filed as part of the Chicago case.

The FDA was right. Despite the new coating, the pill was easy to cook down into a liquid that could be injected, according to Scott County officials,

TIME June 15, 2015 31

and it soon became local addicts' go-to fix. Combs, the nurse who runs the needle exchange, says even though black-market Opana is more expensive than heroin, abusers strongly prefer the prescription drug. The CDC confirmed as much in an April 24, 2015, report on the Scott County outbreak: 96% of those who tested positive for HIV there this year and were interviewed by the CDC said they were injecting Opana.

Endo denied Opana was at the heart of the outbreak. It suggested generic versions of its drug that didn't have the "abuse deterrent" coating might be at fault. In April, Endo held a conference call with public-health officials in Scott County. The Endo officials "thought it was a mistake," says Combs, who was on the call. Around the same time, McClain says an Endo security official called him and offered to help investigate the source of the pills. The Endo official told him the drug being abused couldn't be Opana because it had been reformulated to be "abuse deterrent." McClain was skeptical. "I've got an evidence room full of Opana over there right now, and I don't have any generic forms of that pill that are being purchased off the street," McClain says.

Endo officials declined repeated requests to be interviewed for this article. In response to questions emailed to the company regarding its marketing of Opana and its response to the crisis in Scott County, Keri Mattox, senior vice president for investor relations, said, "Patient safety is a top priority for Endo," and the company has "an ongoing, active and productive dialogue" with the FDA regarding Opana's "technology designed to deter abuse." Mattox says the company supports "a broad range of programs that provide awareness and education around the appropriate use of pain medications" and has reached out to the CDC, Indiana state officials and Scott County health and law enforcement officials, among others.

Portenoy and other advocates for pain patients argue that those who become addicted to opioids do so for reasons well beyond the control of drug companies, including genetic predisposition and a history of addictive behavior. Many of the marketing practices used by Endo are common in the pharmaceutical industry. The U.S. district judge in the Chicago case, in fact, found the city had failed to show that doctors there were misled by Endo; he dismissed that part of the case in May. Chicago, which alleges that Endo and the other drug companies it is suing have hurt citizens and the city by defrauding them, has asked for time to amend its complaint to provide additional evidence to support its claims.

### **Picking Up the Pieces**

TEN YEARS INTO THE OPIOID EPIDEMIC, SIGNS OF progress can be found. A new study in the *Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA)* found a 19% decline in overall opioid prescriptions and a 20% drop in emergency-room visits for opioid poisoning from 2010 through 2012. But while short-term



### **Emergency effort**

Just off I-65, Scott
County officials
parked a construction
sign to direct residents
to the needle clinic
and health center; the
CDC says the county's
HIV outbreak can
be traced to one
prescription painkiller
called Opana

prescriptions are falling, long-term use remains steady, according to a 2014 study of 36 million insurance claims by Express Scripts, the largest pharmacy-benefit management company in the U.S. And the CDC found opioid overdoses ticked back up slightly in 2013 after falling in 2012. A May 2014 *JAMA* study found heroin addiction had migrated from "low-income urban areas with large minority populations to more affluent suburban and rural areas with primarily white populations."

Part of the problem, according to the NIH, is that doctors have no scientific certainty over when and whether it's safe to use opioids to treat long-term pain. "There is insufficient evidence for every clinical decision that a provider needs to make regarding use of opioids for chronic pain," a NIH panel on opioids concluded earlier this year. The American Academy of Neurology last year concluded that the risks of long-term opioid treatment for headaches and chronic low-back pain likely outweigh the benefits.

In 2012, the FDA required all opioid makers to adopt a strategy to combat opioid abuse. In September 2013, the agency announced it was finally

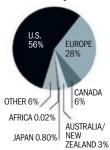


Number of opioid prescriptions dispensed per 100 people in 2012, including refills 52-71

> The U.S. has the highest rate of opioid use in the world

72-81

### **Proportion of** global morphine consumption

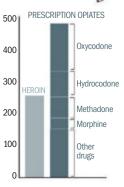


requiring opioid makers to do several large studies on the risks of powerful, long-term narcotics. The companies are only now submitting their final protocols for those tests—they were supposed to be in last August—and the results on the core questions won't be known until 2018. Even then, the tests will show only whether opioids are addictive and whether abuse-deterrence properties actually help limit abuse.

Medical associations, too, have tightened their guidance, recommending steps doctors can take to watch for and respond to abuse, but the advice given often conflicts: some require limits on doses and regular tests for abuse while others back testing only for high-risk patients and recommend no caps. Every state except Missouri now has a prescription-monitoring program that makes it harder for abusers to get multiple prescriptions from multiple doctors, but participation by clinicians is often voluntary.

Meanwhile, the backlash against opioids is producing its own backlash. Patients in states with tighter laws say they are unfairly being denied pain **Hospitalizations** for drug use in 2011, in thousands

An increase of since 2004



SOURCES: IMS HEALTH DRUGABUSE.GOV: CDC: SAMHSA DOJ; INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL BOARD

relief. Portenoy, the early backer of opioids, now says drug companies "crossed the line" in pushing the drugs but warns that over-regulation "will deprive millions of people, including those who need pain medicine as part of palliative care, access to essential drugs." In 2013 the Drug Enforcement Administration fined Walgreens \$80 million for allowing opioids to get into criminal hands; a year earlier it revoked the pharmaceutical licenses of two Florida CVS stores for lax oversight of opioid distribution. Members of Congress from those companies' home states are pushing to rein in the DEA's authority.

The FDA, for its part, continues to behave as if the answer to the opioid epidemic is more opioids. One month after requiring long-term tests of the addictiveness of opioids in 2013, the agency approved an extended-release drug called Zohydro, which is 25% more powerful than Opana and has no abusedeterrent properties. In allowing the drug, the FDA overruled its own safety advisory board, which had voted 11 to 2 against approval because of addiction concerns. (Zohydro's maker has since applied for FDA permission to market an abuse-deterrent version.) A year later, in November 2014, the FDA approved Hysingla, which has abuse-deterrent properties but is two times as powerful as Opana. The total annual sales for opioids in the U.S. has grown over 20 years to more than \$8 billion. From 2008 to 2012, Opana generated \$1.16 billion a year in sales, and in 2012 it accounted for 10% of Endo's total revenue.

With America awash in opioids for the foreseeable future, health care providers and public officials are searching for ways to help addicts get clean. A drug called suboxone is effective at stabilizing addicts but can itself be addictive, and there are federal limits on how much one doctor can provide. (A bill introduced May 27 by Rand Paul and Democratic Senator Edward Markey would widen the drug's availability). In southern Indiana, a group called LifeSpring runs a suboxone clinic and claims a 60% success rate in keeping addicts off opioids and heroin. It currently has 16 patients from Scott County and a waiting list that runs from two to nine weeks.

Tiffany Turner says she has tested negative for HIV and is off Opana. She volunteers in Combs' needle-exchange clinic and tells her story at substance-abuse-education events in Scott County. As of June 2, 166 people in Scott County had tested positive for HIV. The most common path to getting clean there, though, is by going cold turkey in jail. "My jail is the rehab clinic," says McClain, who has 65 beds and 120 inmates, 90% of whom are in for prescription-drug-related crimes. He's making room for more. In the dusty lot behind the jail, workers are pouring concrete and setting steel I-beams for an expansion that will add another 135 beds and provide space for treatment and counseling services.

33 TIME June 15, 2015





### There are more than 50 million displaced people in the world today, the most since the end of World War II. Yet few of them have survived the kind of horrific journey that 12-year-old Atahurahman endured.

For 3½ months, he drifted across the Bay of Bengal, which separates India and Southeast Asia, to the Andaman Sea on what can only be described as a modern-day slave ship. The creaking vessel's hold was retrofitted by human smugglers to carry more than 400 people packed so tightly together, they often sat with their arms cradling their bent knees. Twice-daily meals were limited to a handful of gruel and a few gulps of water. A couple of months into the trip, the captain and other gun-wielding traffickers abandoned ship, leaving the passengers to their fates. Food—even grains of uncooked rice—ran out.

Then began what one International Organization for Migration official described as "maritime ping-pong with human life." Eager to make landfall in Malaysia, the migrants—a mix of ethnic Rohingya from Burma escaping persecution and Bangladeshis fleeing poverty—headed toward the jungle-choked coastline. But the Malaysian maritime force, under government orders to refuse such boats shelter, pushed the vessel north toward Thailand.

The Thai authorities fixed the boat's engine and tossed some food and water to the passengers, who by this point were drinking their own urine. But they then towed the boat back to international waters, wanting nothing to do with the despondent human cargo. The cycle repeated itself: back to Malaysia, back to Thailand, back to Malaysia. Eventually an Indonesian helicopter hovered overhead, though that country's navy initially blocked the boat as well. Three countries were rejecting a trawler filled with starving, dehydrated people, a floating human-rights tragedy.

On May 20, the vessel drifted toward Aceh, an Indonesian province at the northwestern tip of the island of Sumatra. There local fishermen finally guided the passengers to safety. A day after he had made landfall, Atahurahman, who is a Rohingya, walked dazed through a temporary camp set up by Acehnese officials. Women and children huddled in an

abandoned paper plant, their occasional wails piercing the air. Men sprawled under tents. Medical staff tried to revive the sick, including toddlers with the swollen bellies of prolonged malnutrition. At least 10 others died en route and were thrown overboard, say those who survived the ordeal. "We thought we would die in the sea," says Atahurahman.

### **Homeless**

IF ALL THE UPROOTED INDIVIDUALS LIKE Atahurahman around the world were to form their own country, they would make up the world's 29th most populous nation, as big as South Korea. The recent increase in refugees is driven by conflict, especially in Syria, the Central African Republic and South Sudan, as well as by economic crisis. Already about 1,800 African and Middle Eastern migrants have perished in the Mediterranean this year, as overloaded boats sank before reaching Europe.

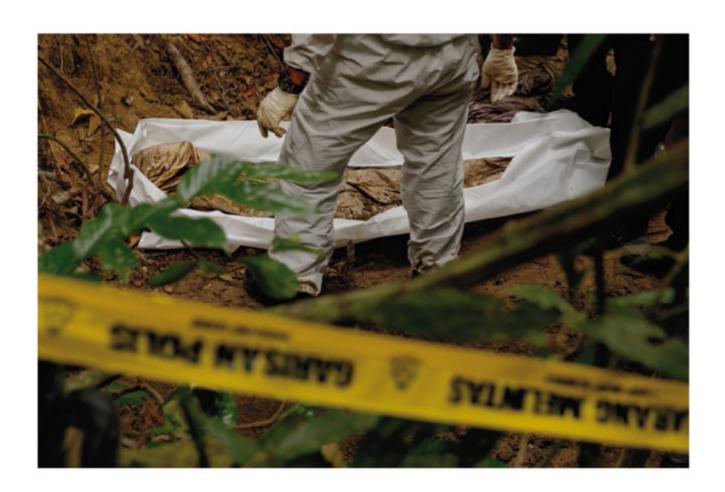
Yet of all the world's desperate migrants, the Rohingya deserve special sympathy. A Muslim ethnic minority that lives in the west of Burma, known officially as Myanmar, the Rohingya are not simply poor and persecuted by members of the country's Buddhist majority. They also lack the most fundamental measure of identity: citizenship. About 140,000 Rohingya have been herded by the government into fetid, disease-ridden camps since sectarian tensions with local Buddhists erupted in 2012. That violence, which disproportionately affected the Rohingya, culminated in what Human Rights Watch deemed "ethnic cleansing." Visiting one such ghetto, a U.N. humanitarian-affairs official said she witnessed a level of suffering "I have personally never seen before."

At least 200,000 Rohingya have sought refuge in neighboring Bangladesh, a country even poorer than Burma. The Burmese government maintains that the Rohingya aren't Burmese at all because they are recently arrived illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, "Bengalis" who have flooded

across the border. Yet many Rohingya have lived in Burma for generations and used to hold Burmese citizenship before laws changed in 1982. Unable to access normal schools and hospitals because of their official statelessness, Rohingya are also limited in whom they can marry and how many children they can bear. While international advocates as august as the Dalai Lama have rallied to their cause, Burma's own human-rights icon Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and democratic opposition leader, has declined to strenuously defend them. "The Rohingya have been discriminated against, significantly, and that's part of the reason they are fleeing," U.S. President Barack Obama told a group of Southeast Asian students at the White House on June 1.

It's little wonder then that the Rohingya risk the journey to Muslim-majority Malaysia to endure menial jobs unwanted by locals. (Though cases of rape, torture and execution along the way have been recorded, it's difficult to corroborate every story each Rohingya tells.) The route from western Burma's Rakhine (or Arakan) state has taken them aboard rickety boats, often owned by Thais, to the Andaman Sea, then overland through the forests of Thailand into Malaysia. Often the price agreed upon back in Burma (or in refugee settlements in Bangladesh, another point of departure for migrants) changes en route, and the Rohingya, along with an increasing number of Bangladeshis, are imprisoned in camps until family members back home or in Malaysia pay up.

The crisis has spawned a new generation of homeless boat people, the largest in Asia since the end of the Vietnam War sent an estimated 800,000 fleeing communism by sea. Back then, the refugees were housed in camps across Southeast Asia and eventually made their way to new lives as far away as Europe and the U.S. From 2014 through early 2015, 88,000 Rohingya and Bangladeshis took to the sea, according to the U.N., with thousands perishing along the way. Some, after paying ransom to the traffickers, have returned to the camps and homes they once fled or have been picked up by the Burmese navy. "These trafficking syndicates have operated for years," says Matthew Smith, executive director of Fortify Rights, a



human-rights-focused NGO based in Bangkok. "But the current scale of death and abuse is unprecedented."

Asia's boat crisis has highlighted the powerlessness—or, more accurately, the deliberate frailty—of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the region's pale version of the E.U. While Southeast Asia is gaining economic muscle—the region is the world's fifth largest economy—its political strength remains stunted. For all the criticism of the E.U.'s failures to save migrants in the Mediterranean, at least Europe has a policy. Hiding behind a commitment to noninterference in its 10 members' domestic affairs, ASEAN has abdicated responsibility for protecting its most vulnerable residents.

Until May 20, Malaysia and Indonesia both refused official sanctuary to the boats, while Thailand is still shying away



Unmarked graves Malaysian officials found bodies of migrants in an abandoned camp allegedly used by smugglers

from a full welcome. A May 29 summit in Thailand on the boat crisis produced only weak statements—nothing specific about the Burmese authorities' creating the conditions that have propelled the Rohingya to flee. Indeed, because the Burmese government, which has been applauded for initiating political and economic reform, refuses to acknowledge that such an ethnicity exists, the word Rohingya was excluded from the conference's paperwork. "The international community has been shameful in its silence," says Zafar Ahmad Abdul Ghani, president of the Myanmar Ethnic Rohingya Human Rights Organization Malaysia. "A slow genocide is happening, and the world looks away."

## **Heart of Darkness**

AS REPORTS BY HUMAN-RIGHTS ORGANIZAtions have piled up, documenting the mistreatment of vulnerable migrants, Thailand and Malaysia have finally begun cracking down on the human-smuggling network that moves and often abuses them. But the results have been grim. In May, Thai authorities uncovered more than 30 migrants' bodies near the Malaysian border. During another operation last month near the border with Thailand, Malaysian police discovered 139 graves strewn across the limestone hills. The remnants of death were everywhere: a stretcher made of branches used to carry bodies, reams of white cloth used to wrap the deceased in Muslim tradition and empty boxes of 9-mm bullets. Forensic specialists are still exhuming bodies, so the final death toll is not yet known. But the remains are believed to be those of Rohingya and Bangladeshis who perished in jungle camps where they were held hostage while smugglers awaited further payment.

"I am not surprised by the presence of smuggling syndicates," Malaysian national police chief Khalid Abu Bakar told ТімЕ while visiting a makeshift police station near the hills riddled with graves. "But the depth of the cruelty, the torture, all this death—that has shocked me." Some locals, though, are not surprised. One resident, who refused to give his name because of the sensitive nature of human trafficking, recalled seeing emaciated foreigners stumbling down the road near the entrance to a national park. They were wearing sarongs, the women's heads covered by the kind of loose veils normally worn by Muslims in western Burma and Bangladesh. "We did nothing," the villager says. "God help us for looking away."

Shanu Binti Abdul Hussain says she, her three children and her brother-in-law—all Rohingya from western Burma—were imprisoned in a camp on the Thai side of the border for more than a month late last year. They were released only when her husband Mohamed Rafiq, who was already working in Malaysia's Penang state, was able to meet a \$4,150 ransom. "I thought, What if the money was too late?" he recalls. "What if one of my children has died?" The family now shares a house with five others in Penang, each

# 'THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS BEEN SHAMEFUL IN ITS SILENCE. A SLOW GENOCIDE IS HAPPENING, AND THE WORLD LOOKS AWAY.'

—ZAFAR AHMAD ABDUL GHANI, PRESIDENT OF THE MYANMAR ETHNIC ROHINGYA HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION MALAYSIA

household limited to a single room. Mohamed Rahman, the eldest son, 12, works bagging rice and onions for a grocer for \$6 a day. He does not go to school.

It's hard to imagine that human traffickers could have operated in border areas for so many years without official complicity. In May the mayor and deputy mayor of the Thai border town of Padang Besar were arrested in connection with the trade; on June 3 a senior Thai army officer surrendered to face charges linked to alleged human trafficking. As part of their crackdown, Malaysian police have detained two policemen. A Bangladeshi report published in local newspapers last month accused 24 police officers in Cox's Bazar, the coastal area from which smugglers' boats often launch, of complicity in trafficking. Shaidah, a Rohingya whose neighborhood in Burma was razed in 2012, spent three months living in a tent in a 200-person jungle camp in Thailand. When she trekked into Malaysia, she remembers uniformed men hustling her across the border.

## **New Beginnings**

DESPITE THE LIFE-AND-DEATH RISKS, Asia's human-trafficking trade will continue for the same reason illegal migration is on the rise globally—the market is simply too lucrative, and migrants are too desperate. Some aren't even going voluntarily—Atahurahman and nine other boys on the ship that landed in Aceh on May 20 say they were kidnapped by traffickers trying to maximize profits by filling their boats before they set sail, collecting ransom during the journey.

Bangladesh's Prime Minister, Sheik

Hasina, has dismissed migrants from her country as "mentally sick." The blame seems misplaced. Bangladeshi police say 300 or so human traffickers nationwide prey on unemployed youth and schoolboys by promising free passage to Southeast Asia, only to hold them for ransom later on. Besides, about 40% of Bangladeshis live on less than \$1.25 a day. Is it really crazy to crave a better life abroad? The Rohingya have it even worse, although the U.S. has promised to resettle some refugees, as have the Philippines and, curiously, the tiny West African country of Gambia, whose citizens are themselves braving Mediterranean voyages to reach Europe.

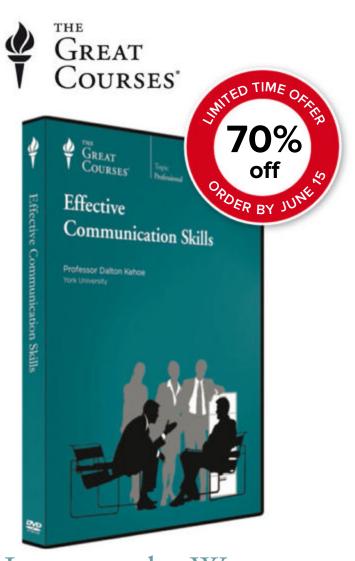
Complicating the fate of the refugees is the difficulty of documenting exactly what has happened to them. Many of the Rohingya who made it to Aceh, after months at sea, told the same story to Time about why they left Burma: villages burned, women raped, brothers or nephews or uncles or fathers killed. While the mistreatment of the Rohingya in Burma is well established, the sameness in their narratives is hard to evaluate. Did atrocities committed against their families force them onto the traffickers' boats? Or were they coached to give similar stories in order to better their chances of get-

ting refugee status—something that is

known to happen?

At one of the Aceh camps, Atahurahman tells, unblinkingly, how his father was shot by Burmese police while they were confined to a camp. Yet the boy's uncle, who lives in Malaysia, maintains that Atahurahman's father died of heart disease after not being able to get to the hospital from the Rohingya ghetto. Which is the truth? Many of the Rohingya have no idea what day they left Burma or, indeed, what day it is now. They are illiterate and traumatized. After spending years wasting away in some of the world's most squalid conditions, they face uncertain futures in temporary camps granted by foreign governments. Yet they had the strength to cross an ocean in search of a new life.

Atahurahman, though, has another ambition. "I want to see my mother again," he says, blinking back tears. "I miss her very much." — WITH REPORTING BY MUKTITA SUHARTONO/ACEH, INDONESIA, AND FARID HOSSAIN/DHAKA, BANGLADESH



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- 21. Talking Our Way to Lasting Relationships
- 22. Leadership, Appreciation, and Productivity
- 23. Dialogue and Appreciation— Engaged Employees
- 24. Dialogue—Ethical Choices behind Our Talk

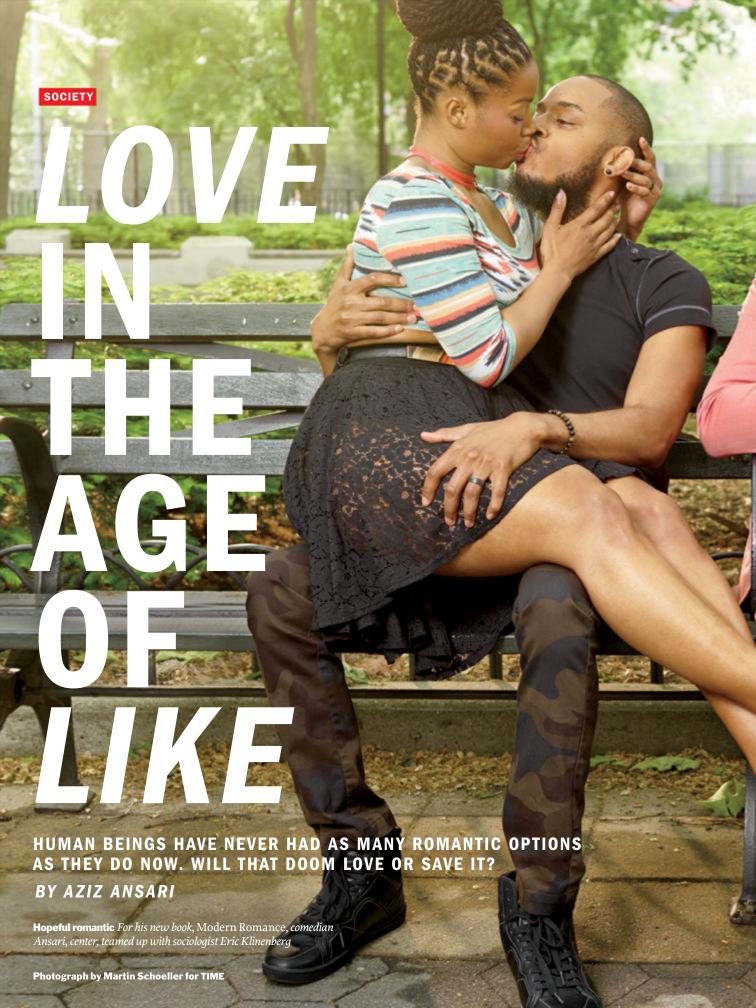
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## MY PARENTS HAD AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE.

This always fascinated me. I am perpetually indecisive about even the most mundane things, and I couldn't imagine navigating such a huge life decision so quickly.

I asked my dad about this experience, and here's how he described it: he told his parents he was ready to get married, so his family arranged meetings with three neighboring families. The first girl, he said, was "a little too tall," and the second girl was "a little too short." Then he met my mom. He quickly deduced that she was the appropriate height (finally!), and they talked for about 30 minutes. They decided it would work. A week later, they were married.

And they still are, 35 years later. Happily so—and probably more so than most people I know who had nonarranged marriages. That's how my dad decided on the person with whom he was going to spend the rest of his life.

Let's look at how I do things, maybe with a slightly less important decision, like the time I had to pick where to eat dinner in Seattle when I was on tour last year. First I texted four friends who travel and eat out a lot and whose judgment I trust. I checked the website Eater for its Heat Map, which includes new, tasty restaurants in the city. Then I checked Yelp. And GQ's online guide to Seattle. Finally I made my selection: Il Corvo, an Italian place that sounded amazing. Unfortunately, it was closed. (It only served lunch.) At that point I had run out of time because I had a show to do, so I ended up making a peanut-butter-and-banana sandwich on the bus. The stunning fact remained: it was quicker for my dad to find a wife than it is for me to decide where to eat dinner.

This kind of rigor goes into a lot of my decisionmaking. Whether it's where I'm eating, where I'm traveling or, God forbid, something I'm buying, like a lot of

people in my generation—those in their 20s and 30s—I feel compelled to do a ton of research to make sure I'm getting every option and then making the best choice. If this mentality pervades our decisionmaking in so many realms, is it also affecting how we choose a romantic partner?

The question nagged at me—not least because of my own experiences watching promising relationships peter out over text message—so I set out on a mission. I read dozens of studies about love, how people connect and why they do or don't stay together. I quizzed the crowds at my stand-up comedy shows about their own love lives. People even let me into the private world of their phones to read their romantic texts aloud onstage. I learned of the phenomenon of "good enough" marriage, a term social anthropologists use to describe marriages that were less about finding the perfect match than a suitable candidate whom the family approved of for the couple to embark on adulthood together.

And along with the sociologist Eric Klinenberg, co-author of my new book,

'ALL TINDER IS
DOING IS GIVING
YOU SOMEONE
TO LOOK AT
WHO'S IN THE
NEIGHBORHOOD.'

-HELEN FISHER, ANTHROPOLOGIST

I conducted focus groups with hundreds of people across the country and around the world, grilling participants on the most intimate details of how they look for love and why they've had trouble finding it. Eric and I weren't digging into singledom—we were trying to chip away at the changing state of love.

Today's generations are looking (exhaustively) for soul mates, whether we decide to hit the altar or not, and we have more opportunities than ever to find them. The biggest changes have been brought by the \$2.4 billion online-dating industry, which has exploded in the past few years with the arrival of dozens of mobile apps. Throw in the fact that people now get married later in life than ever before, turning their early 20s into a relentless hunt for more romantic options than previous generations could have ever imagined, and you have a recipe for romance gone haywire.

In the course of our research, I also discovered something surprising: the winding road from the classified section of yore to Tinder has taken an unexpected turn. Our phones and texts and apps might just be bringing us full circle, back to an old-fashioned version of courting that is closer to what my own parents experienced than you might guess.

## **Where Bozos Are Studs**

TODAY, IF YOU OWN A SMARTPHONE, you're carrying a 24-7 singles bar in your pocket. As of this writing, 38% of Americans who describe themselves as "single and looking" have used an online-dating site. It's not just my generation—boomers are as likely as college kids to give online dating a whirl. Almost a quarter of online daters find a spouse or long-term partner that way.

It's easy to see why online dating has taken off. It provides you with a seem-



HAPPILY
EVER AFTER
THE AUTHOR'S
PARENTS, FATIMA
AND SHOUKATH
ANSARI, CELEBRATE
AT THEIR ARRANGED
MARRIAGE IN THE
INDIAN STATE OF
TAMIL NADU ON
MARCH 16, 1981

ingly endless supply of people who are single and looking to date. Let's say you're a woman who wants a 28-year-old man who's 5 ft. 10 in., has brown hair, lives in Brooklyn, is a member of the Baha'i faith and loves the music of Naughty by Nature. Before online dating, this would have been a fruitless quest, but now, at any time of the day, no matter where you are, you are just a few screens away from sending a message to your very specific dream man.

There are downsides with online dating, of course. Throughout all our interviews—and in research on the subject—this is a consistent finding: in online dating, women get a ton more attention than men. Even a guy at the highest end of attractiveness barely receives the number of messages almost all women get. But that doesn't mean that men end up standing alone in the corner of the online bar. On the Internet, there are no lonely corners. Take Derek, a regular user of OkCupid who lives in New York City. What I'm about to say is going to sound very mean, but Derek is a pretty boring guy. Medium height, thinning brown hair, nicely dressed and personable, but not immediately magnetic or charming. If he walked into a bar, you'd probably go, "Oh, there's a white guy."

At our focus group on online dating in Manhattan, Derek got on OkCupid and let us watch as he went through his options. These were women whom OkCupid had selected as potential matches for him based on his profile and the site's algorithm. The first woman he clicked on was very beautiful, with a witty profile page, a good job and lots of shared interests, including a love of sports. After looking the page over for a minute or so, Derek said, "Well, she looks O.K. I'm just gonna keep looking for a while."

I asked what was wrong, and he replied, "She likes the Red Sox." I was completely shocked. I couldn't believe how quickly he had moved on. Imagine the Derek of 20 years ago, finding out that this beautiful, charming woman was a real possibility for a date. If she were at a bar and smiled at him, Derek of 1993 would have melted. He wouldn't have walked up and said, "Oh, wait, you like the Red Sox?! No thank you!" before putting his hand in her face and turning away. But Derek of 2013 simply clicked an X on a web-browser tab and deleted her without thinking twice. Watching him comb through those profiles, it became clear that online, every bozo could now be a stud.

But dealing with this new digital romantic world can be a lot of work. Answering messages, filtering profiles—it's not always fun. Priya, 27, said she'd recently deleted her Tinder and other online-dating

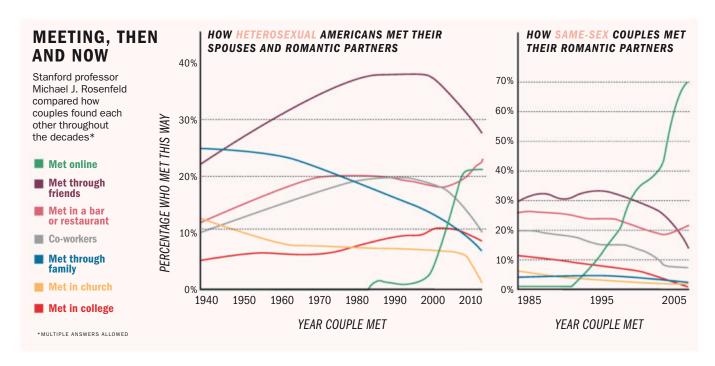
accounts. "It just takes too long to get to just the first date. I feel like it's way more effective utilizing your social groups," she said. "I would rather put myself in those social situations than get exhausted." For Priya, as for so many of the online daters we met in different cities, the process had morphed from something fun and exciting into a source of stress and dread.

Even the technological advances of the past few years are pretty absurd. You can stand in line at the grocery store and swipe through 60 people's faces on Tinder while you wait to buy hamburger buns. (Note: The best hamburger buns are Martin's Potato Rolls. Trust me!) That's 20 times as many people as my dad met on his marriage journey. In the history of our species, no group has ever had as many romantic options as we have now.

### **Soul Mate vs. Laundry Detergent**

IN THEORY, MORE OPTIONS ARE BETTER, right? Wrong. Psychology professor Barry Schwartz, famous for his 2004 book *The Paradox of Choice*, divided us into two types of people: "satisficers" (those who satisfy and then suffice) and "maximizers," who seek out the best.

Thanks to smartphones and the Internet, our options are unlimited, whether it's a retail item or a romantic possibility. We have all become maximizers. When I



think back to that sad peanut-butter-andbanana sandwich I had in Seattle, this idea resonates with me. Besides gasoline, it's nearly impossible for me to think of anything I won't put in time for to find the best. I'm a maximizer for just about everything. Tacos? You better believe. Candles? If you only knew how good the candles in my house smell.

It's easy to find and get the best, so why not do it? If you are in a big city or on an online-dating site, you are now comparing your potential partners not just to other potential partners but rather to an idealized person to whom no one could measure up.

But people don't always know what they're looking for in a soul mate, unlike when they're picking something easier, like laundry detergent.

While we may think we know what we want, we're often wrong. As recounted in Dan Slater's history of online dating, Love in the Time of Algorithms, the first online-dating services tried to find matches for clients based almost exclusively on what clients said they wanted. But pretty soon they realized that the kind of partner people said they were looking for didn't match up with the kind of partner they were actually interested in.

Amarnath Thombre, Match.com's

## SPOTLIGHT THE NEW MATCHMAKER

After Whitney Wolfe, 25, was ousted from Tinder in 2014, she decided she wanted to put women in control of the online-dating experience. Enter Bumble, her six-month-old app, in which women must initiate contact. The service has roughly half a million users and grows by 15% every week; a partner and major funder is Andrey Andreev, founder of Badoo, the multibilliondollar European social network. Like many other startup founders, Wolfe has big ambitions for the service: "It's not a dating app. It's a movement." —CHARLOTTE ALTER



president, discovered this by analyzing the discrepancy between the characteristics people said they wanted in a romantic partner (age, religion, hair color and the like) and the characteristics of the people whom they contacted on the site. When you watched their actual browsing habits—who they looked at and contacted—they went way outside of what they said they wanted.

When I was writing stand-up about online dating, I filled out the forms for dummy accounts on several dating sites just to get a sense of the questions and what the process was like. The person I described was a little younger than me, small, with dark hair. My girlfriend now, whom I met through friends, is two years older, about my height—O.K., slightly taller—and blond. She wouldn't have made it through the filters I set up.

A big part of online dating is spent on this process, though—setting your filters, sorting through profiles and going through a mandatory checklist of what you think you are looking for. People take these parameters very seriously. They declare that their mate "must love dogs" or that their mate "must love the film *Must Love Dogs*," about a preschool teacher (Diane Lane) who tries online dating and specifies that her match "must

love dogs." (I looked it up on Wikipedia.)

But does all the effort put into sorting profiles help? Despite the nuanced information that people put up on their profiles, the factor that they rely on most when preselecting a date is looks. In his book *Dataclysm*, OkCupid founder Christian Rudder estimates, based on data from his own site, that photos drive 90% of the action in online dating. (Check out more of Christian's findings on the next page.)

Now, of course, we have mobile dating apps like Tinder. Contrary to the laborintensive user experience of traditional online dating, mobile apps generally operate on a much simpler and quicker scale. As soon as you sign in, Tinder uses your GPS location to find nearby users and starts showing you pictures. You swipe right on their picture if you might be interested, left if you're not.

Maybe it sounds shallow. But consider this: in the case of my girlfriend, I initially saw her face and approached her. I didn't have an in-depth profile to peruse or a fancy algorithm. I just had her face, and we started talking and it worked out. Is that experience so different from swiping on Tinder?

"I think Tinder is a great thing," says Helen Fisher, an anthropologist who studies dating. "All Tinder is doing is giving you someone to look at who's in the neighborhood. Then you let the human brain with his brilliant little algorithm tick, tick, tick off what you're looking for."

In this sense, using Tinder isn't so different from what our grandparents did. Nor is it all that different from what one friend of mine did, using online dating to find someone Jewish who lived in close proximity by simply typing, as he put it, "Jewish and my ZIP code." In a world of infinite possibilities, we've found a way to narrow our options to people we're attracted to in our neighborhood.

## **Passion and Patience**

IN RELATIONSHIPS, THERE'S COMMITMENT and *commitment*, the kind that involves a license, usually some kind of religious blessing and a ceremony in which every one of your close friends and relatives watches you and your partner promise to stay together until one of you dies.

In the U.S., marriage rates are at historic lows—the rate of marriages per

## **VIEWPOINT**

## WHY ONLINE DATING IS A BOON FOR WOMEN

BY JO PIAZZA

NOT SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF the birth control pill have we seen a tool as liberating for women as online dating.

When the Pill was first introduced to the market as a contraceptive in 1960, it gave women new power. It wasn't just sexual freedom. The Pill gave them the power of choice. It allowed a woman to seriously date and experience intimacy with more than one man before she had to select him as a life partner.

Digital dating and the vast amount of information that accompanies it—with a market estimated at 27 million Americans—arm women with the knowledge needed to make a better choice before the date even begins. The Pill allowed women to metaphorically road-test the car. Online dating allows a woman to get an inspection before she bothers heading to the lot.

Finding a potential spouse with a steady job is a high priority for 78% of women, according to research by Pew. Most dating profiles allow a woman to ascertain whether her "matches" have a job—or whatever else her preferences may be—all without asking uncomfortable questions on a first date. Only after a woman is armed with this information does she need to proceed with making a date. And she is the one with the power to initiate that meeting, if she so chooses.

In 2013, the dating site Are You Interested released figures showing that a woman sending an online message to a man in her age range had an 18% likelihood of receiving a response. A man, in the same scenario, had a 4% likelihood of receiving a response. The same site found that a man typically had to send 25 messages to different women to get a response. A woman had to send only five.

In that way, the slew of dating sites and applications that have flooded the market in the past decade make every day Sadie Hawkins Day. Now, Sadie Hawkins never actually got to experience the joy of having the ball in her court. She was the creation of the cartoonist Al Capp for his Li'l Abner comic strip; Capp gave all the unmarried girls in town like Sadie a special day to "catch" their husbands. The strip ignited a popular real-life movement in the late 1930s and early '40s whereby women, in a stunning cultural reversal, could ask a suitor to be their companion for an annual Sadie Hawkins Day dance. Is Sadie Hawkins an oldfashioned metaphor? Not really.

We no longer live in the sexually repressed '40s, and of course women have been asking men out for decades. But few women who have tried it will deny that online dating makes it easier to be the one to make the first move, that it allows women to be much more selective and forward and that it removes some of the stigma from being the pursuer.

My female friends often receive hundreds of first messages, compared with a handful received by my male friends. Does this mean that all those men will be a potential match? Does this mean that roughly 45% of those men won't take themselves out of contention by awkwardly posing with small baby animals or exotic pets?

Absolutely not, but it does mean that the women have a much larger pool from which to select potential dates. Online dating may not be perfect, but it certainly beats waiting to be asked out at a bar—or worse, driving home in a lemon.

Piazza is the author of Tech Darling and co-author, with Lucy Sykes, of new novel The Knockoff

TIME June 15, 2015 45

1,000 single women dropped almost 60% from 1970 to 2012. Americans are also joining the international trend of marrying later; for the first time in history, the typical American now spends more years single than married. So what are we doing instead?

As Eric wrote in his own book, *Going Solo*, we experiment. Long-term cohabitation is on the rise. Living alone has skyrocketed almost everywhere, and in many major cities, nearly half of all households have just one resident. But marriage is not an altogether undesirable institution. And there are many great things about being in a committed relationship.

Look at my parents: they had an arranged marriage, and they are totally happy. I looked into it, and this is not uncommon. People in arranged marriages start off lukewarm, but over time they really invest in each other and in general have successful relationships. This may be because they bypassed the most dangerous part of a relationship.

In the first stage of a relationship, you have passionate love. This is where you and your partner are just going crazy for each other. Every smile makes your heart flutter. Every night is more magical than the last. During this phase, your brain floods your neural synapses with dopamine, the same neurotransmitter that gets released when you do cocaine.

Like all drugs, though, this high wears off after 12 to 18 months. At a certain point, the brain rebalances itself. In good relationships, as passionate love fades, companionate love arises to take its place. If passionate love is the cocaine of love, companionate love is like having a glass of wine.

In his book *The Happiness Hypothesis*, NYU social psychologist Jonathan Haidt identifies two danger points in every romantic relationship. One is at the apex of the passionate-love phase. People get all excited and dive in headfirst. A new couple, weeks or months into a relationship, high off passionate love, goes bonkers and moves in together and gets married way too quickly. Sometimes these couples are able to transition from the passionate stage to the companionate one. Other times, though, they transition into a crazy, toxic relationship and/or get divorced.

The second danger point is when pas-

sionate love starts wearing off. This is when you start coming down off that initial high and start worrying about whether this is really the right person for you.

Your texts used to be so loving: It's hard to focus on anything at work, 'cause all that's in my head is you. Now your texts are like: Let's just meet at Whole Foods. Or: Hey, that dog you made us buy took a dump in my shoe.

But Haidt argues that when you hit this stage, you should be patient. With luck, if you allow yourself to invest more in the other person, you will find a beautiful life companion

I had a rather weird firsthand experience with this. When I first started dating my girlfriend, a few months in, I went to a friend's wedding in Big Sur, Calif. I was alone, because my friend did me a huge solid and declined to give me a plus one. Which, of course, is the best. You get to sit by yourself and be a third wheel.

The vows in this wedding were powerful. They were saying the most remarkable, loving things about each other. Things like "You are a prism that takes the light of life and turns it into a rainbow" and "You are a lotion that moisturizes my heart. Without you, my soul has eczema." It was the noncheesy, heartfelt version of stuff like that.

After the wedding, I found out about four different couples that had broken up, supposedly because they didn't feel like they had the love that was expressed in those vows. Did they call it off too early, at their danger point? I don't know, but I, too, felt scared hearing that stuff. Did I have what those people had? At that point, no. But for some reason, I felt deep down that I should keep investing in my relationship—as my father did, after those fateful 30 minutes of literally sizing up my mother—and that eventually that level of love would show itself. And so far, it has. Now, if you'll excuse me, I have to figure out where to get lunch.



Ansari is a comedian and starred on NBC's Parks and Recreation. This article is adapted from Modern Romance by Aziz Ansari with Eric Klinenberg (Penguin Publishing Group, 2015)

### VIEWPOINT

## WHAT MATTERS, WHAT DOESN'T

BY CHRISTIAN RUDDER

online dating is a circus of self-deception. There are the things that people don't want to matter, but do—of which race is a salient example. Then there are the things that people want to matter, but don't.

Profile text is one of these. What you write about yourself hardly makes a difference in the number of messages you get on OkCupid: we estimate that your words have about one-twelfth the impact of your picture. Many newer apps have gotten rid of personal essays altogether.

Religion is similarly irrelevant. However central religious belief may be to our 15 million users' personal lives, in online dating it is marginal. Religious-match questions on OkCupid are often assigned the highest importance. But when you look at the data, religion is one of singledom's self-imposed divides.

A few years ago, OkCupid brought in a statistician from Columbia to answer the question "Of all the data we collect, what matters most in creating relationships?" After months of work, he arrived at his answer, the single most important attribute: how often someone smokes. It's one of the very few true deal breakers, although 28% of the user base says yes to "Have you smoked a cigarette in the last six months?" Followed by political intensity. Then a variety of practical concerns, like desire for children. Then, down the list, religion.

Of course, OkCupid is a mainstream site, and niche sites like JDate and ChristianMingle will no doubt find that religion is a core value among their users. But for the rest of the country, other things are more important than where you spend your Sunday mornings.

Rudder is a founder of OkCupid and the author of Dataclysm

THE WEEK
THE ENTOURAGE
RETURNS

## The Culture



### MOVIES

## **A Woman in Wartime**

When England's Vera Brittain was discouraged from pursuing an education because of her sex, she went to Oxford anyway. When both her brother and her first love enlisted to fight in World War I, she left school to volunteer as an army nurse. In **Testament** 



of Youth (June 5), based on Brittain's 1933 memoir of the same name, Alicia Vikander plays the author opposite Kit Harington, who plays Brittain's love, Roland Leighton. Vikander's turn as Brittain is just one highlight in a breakout year for the Swedish actress, who played a robot in the critically acclaimed sci-fithriller Ex Machina and is set to appear in the remake of The Man From U.N.C.L.E. in August.

### MOVIES

## **Good Vibrations**

Paul Dano and John Cusack share the role of Beach Boy Brian Wilson in **Love & Mercy** (June 5). Dano covers Wilson's musical ascent and personal trials in the '60s, while Cusack portrays his struggles with mental illness in the '80s.



## Modern Warfare

British rockers Muse return with a weighty seventh studio album, **Drones** (June 9), swapping out the more complex symphonic sensibilities of recent albums for a backto-basics rock-'n'-roll sound. Guitars in, synthesizers out.



## Telepathic Terror

Netflix's latest original series is **Sense8** (June 5), the brainchild of sci-fi dream team Andy and Lana Wachowski with J. Michael Straczynski. Featuring Daryl Hannah, it follows several characters who become linked mentally and emotionally.



By Eliza Berman

## Hollywood's New Domestic Divas Finding a second act selling the good life

By Daniel D'Addario

REESE WITHERSPOON HAS A PRETTY NICE life. She's got a fulfilling job, with an Oscar in 2006 and a nomination this year. Paparazzi photos of her Sunday church trips capture her idyllic family life. She appears to be universally liked, and largely forgiven for that pesky disorderly-conduct arrest back in 2013. And now she wants to sell you an \$85 set of linen cocktail napkins embroidered with fanciful, slightly boozy Southernisms such as PLEASED AS PUNCH and DON'T MIND IF I DO.

Draper James, an e-commerce site named for Witherspoon's grandparents, is selling a notion of Southern charm and gentility that's long been the Nashville-bred actor's trademark. "I was looking for stuff about the South and the traditions we had, and I couldn't find anything," Witherspoon says. "I'd been asked by other brands to endorse Northeastern lines. It didn't feel organic." On Draper James, her fans can snag the ladylike \$185 Hermitage Cardigan or hostess gifts including a \$98 paperweight (listed as a "magnolia objet") that would class up any vanity. As Witherspoon has figured out, the groomed, likable persona that generates fame in Hollywood can also be converted into cash. Now she's among a growing set of stars—ranging from their late 20s to early 40s and including Gwyneth Paltrow, Jessica Alba and Blake Lively—peddling the ephemera of their domestic bliss.

The lifestyle brand is a hoary concept, but these crossover entrepreneurs offer a twist of intensely personal curation, presenting the brands as a distillation of their true selves. From Paltrow's sometimes self-deprecating, know-it-all yogini at Goop to Alba's dutiful mom at the Honest Co. to Witherspoon's daffy, prim belle—who cares if it's real or a put-on? Each site's meticulously crafted image promises visitors a frisson of intimacy with the stars, free with every purchase.

Even as they open up this new terrain, they emulate the grande dame of lifestyle branding, Martha Stewart, whose coastal Connecticut catering business grew into an empire. But Hollywood stars are proving that it's far easier to become a famous lifestyle guru if you are, well, already famous.

The Honest Co., which sells diapers and other baby products marketed as particularly safe thanks to an absence of toxins, was born just a few years after Alba's first child. The company, recently valued at \$1 billion, owes its stratospheric success in part to Alba's image as a celebrity mother who set out to make products she could trust enough to use on her two daughters. She's just like any other mom—except she has her own manufacturing and distribution system.

There's a lot at stake here for the business world, which eagerly awaits the IPO of the Honest Co. Goop, meanwhile, is closing a round of venture-capital funding. But there's even more at stake for the stars. Women in Hollywood have fewer productive years than men. Take Lauren Conrad, the star of MTV's onetime reality stalwart *The Hills*, who now heads the boho-chic fashion-and-housewares site Little Market and girly-cute fashion line Paper Crown; MTV canceled her follow-up series before it began. Paltrow made the decision to step away from Hollywood after becoming a mother and has had a mixed track record since re-entering. Witherspoon's





## VIOUS PAGES: GETTY IMAGES (11)

## Object Lessons. Wares from Gwyneth, Blake and Co.



4.5-Quart Perfect Pan by Staub, \$180



PRESERVE
The Real Dill Pickles,
\$16.50



THE LITTLE MARKET Woven Bikini Bag, \$40



**THE HONEST CO.**Body oil, \$9.95; deodorant, \$8.95; body scrub, \$16.95



**DRAPER JAMES**Notepad in Peachtree, \$14

recent success at shepherding projects like *Wild* and *Gone Girl* through the production process came after several fallow years. "As a woman, I don't think we're as busy as our male counterparts," Witherspoon says. "It's about being challenged."

Lively, the Gossip Girl actor whose site, Preserve, markets a California-chic idea of rustic craftsmanship and indulgent foodieism (Try the "summer smoke salt"!), makes greater waves in the press for homemaking than for moviemaking, though she intends to continue doing both. "Acting is for-hire," she says. "It's transactional. This, whether it's good or bad, is something I shaped."

## **The Sharing Economy**

UNLIKE STEWART, WHO HAS GRACIOUS living down to an unattainable science, the stars putting together houseware and living brands present themselves as ambitious, innately generous dilettantes. And Stewart, true to form, has been somewhat critical of those for whom homemaking seems to be a side project. "If she were confident in her acting, she wouldn't be trying to be Martha Stewart," she said of Paltrow last year.

But it's the chatty, discursive nature of these actors' sites and offerings that makes their clients so faithful. Consumers browse with the sense that they too could swaddle their children the way

Alba does or furnish their wet bar with that Witherspoon touch. Conrad, for instance, says her brand is aspirational but not snooty. "I'm sharing things I've learned as I would with a girlfriend," Conrad says, "as opposed to teaching things."

Lively describes her site's purpose as akin to gift giving: "With Preserve, I'm meeting chefs, meeting artisans, designers, craftsmen. I'm moved by their stories, and I'm sharing them with my friends. Instead of keeping that insulated as a personal pleasure, I'm sharing that in a greater way." She's also sharing her interests and aesthetic with a readership that avidly consumes celebrity photos and news. You can get her look, and her life, if you're willing to pay up.

Goop's newsletter has grown into a forum for Paltrow to disseminate her fashion faves (\$515 Stella McCartney sneakers) and thoughts on personal growth and juice cleanses. As she puts it, "If it's somebody who is on Goop for the celebrity aspect of it, they're going to find things for better or worse that align with me and my values and my tastes."

Win or lose, the fact that these stars are competing in the marketplace as Hollywood gives them less to do onscreen shows their resourcefulness. After all, what people want from stars is a sense of genuine connection; it's why fans in previous generations asked for autographs and why today they seek selfies. If Hollywood provides women limited opportunities to sustain a career on film, Witherspoon and Co. can demonstrate their enduring appeal by showing the world all their favorite things. No longer subject to casting agents' ageism or executives' sexism, they're free to do the same as any kid on Instagram—develop their personae online. The difference: they want your dollars, not your likes.

Many of the items sold on Goop, Preserve and Draper James are costly enough that they represent a special treat rather than a complete live-like-thestars set. A bundle of those chemical-free Honest Co. diapers will run you about \$80 a month, enough to send parents on a tight budget back to Pampers.

Yet if the stars really were just like us, toward what would we aspire? The fun, accessible tone of their branding belies the fact that living like Paltrow or Witherspoon is accessible only with access to their bank accounts. But anyone looking to while away hours learning what stars think is interesting—about the world and themselves—could do worse than logging on to these sites. In presenting us boutique repositories of their quirks, this group of actors wanted to redefine the lifestyle expert. Instead, they accidentally reinvented the celebrity profile.



## "THERE ARE ENDLESS POSSIBILITIES IF YOU JUST STEP OUTSIDE YOURSELF A LITTLE BIT."

- Barbara Van Dahlen, founder and president of Give an Hour™



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## **Movies**



## **Bond Girl.** Melissa McCarthy's *Spy* is this summer's smart blockbuster

By Lisa Schwarzbaum

LIKE ALL THE MOST MESMERIZING, creative daredevils, Melissa McCarthy would rather take a comedy risk and flop than inch by on cautious humor. The star of the CBS sitcom Mike & Molly nailed her Hollywood act—big, bawdy, sharply funny and physically fearless—in Bridesmaids and The Heat; she missed the mark with a splat in Identity Thief and Tammy. Her ability to pick herself up, dust herself off, throw on a different wig and jump into the fray again is a large part of her charm. It's a charm—not to mention a wig collection—that she puts to her best career use yet in Spy.

To call this joyfully zany movie a spy spoof is technically accurate but categorically limiting. The splat-proof crowd pleaser is a well-plotted (and well-shot) action pic with opening credits that give the oo7 franchise a run for its money. It's also a specimen of inventive casting: along with McCarthy as unlikely CIA agent Susan Cooper, *Spy* includes the storklike British TV comedy star Miranda Hart as Susan's office pal Nancy and a pop-eyed Jason Statham as a uselessly testeronic fellow agent in

a barmy send-up of his own career as a bullet-headed tough guy. And as written and directed by Paul Feig—who, with the success of *Bridesmaids* and *The Heat* behind him and the making of an all-girl *Ghostbusters* ahead, is the most profitable male filmmaker a funny female star can ask for these days—*Spy* sneaks smart gender commentary into the script's blockbuster-appeal laughs.

Susan is at the top of her class and great at her job but consigned—the result of roads not taken and career options narrowed for plus-size, middleaged single women—to working behind the scenes. She spends her days in a rat-infested office tracking agents' movements on her computer monitor and

The vital joke in *Spy* is the demonstration of what life is like for a woman like Susan, who has always felt invisible

coaching the ridiculously Bondesque agent Bradley Fine (Jude Law) through his earpiece. And even though he is a spy who doesn't love her, Susan's devotion to her man is personal as well as professional. Really, she completes him. But she has all the self-confidence of a mouse, not a rat; she's the drab homebody who bakes cakes for her workmates.

Still, when Bradley is cut down in the line of duty by slinky Bulgarian meanie Rayna Boyanov (*Bridesmaids* colleague Rose Byrne in full comedic flower)— who is herself up to her ruby lips in nogoodnik arms dealing—Susan persuades a reluctant boss (Allison Janney) to let her infiltrate territory too dangerous for the better-known CIA operatives already on the ground. After all, who better to stop Rayna's nefarious schemes than an agent invisible to the enemy?

The vital joke in Spy—the aha moment of shared triumph between McCarthy and Feig and soon a trillion lady viewers—is the demonstration of what life is like for a woman like Susan, who has always felt invisible. At a crowded bar, thirsty for after-work drinks, wide Susan and long Nancy are apparently literally invisible to the bartender; meanwhile, a glam, sexy colleague (Homeland's Morena Baccarin) is served in a trice. And when Susan is first fitted out with alias identities for her European posting, her wardrobe, wigs and backstories are variations on dowdy heartbreak and touristic American frumpery that make her look, she says, "like someone's homophobic aunt."

Yet when, in a moment of quick thinking to infiltrate Rayna's inner circle, Susan marshals her top-notch instincts and skills, she drops the meek look, dresses in smashing black garments and speaks what is on her mind, pouring out a hilarious torrent of truth telling and score settling. As McCarthy and Byrne carry on a filthy volley of insults (with what is surely secret sisterly glee), Feig keeps his Spy machinery cranking so smoothly that nothing said or done feels as outrageous as, in fact, it is. The truth serum Spy drops into our fizzy drinks makes us feel so good that we don't even realize we've been schooled.

ARRY HORRICKS-20TH CENTURY FOX



## **Books**

## The Gluten Wars. Two new books take aim at today's most controversial foods

By Siobhan O'Connor

TEN YEARS AGO—BEFORE "GLUTEN-FREE" exploded into a nearly \$1 billion U.S. market, before celebrities claimed that the diet was the cure for all their ills and before books like Dr. David Perlmutter's *Grain Brain* and Dr. William Davis' *Wheat Belly* topped the best-seller list—I learned that my croissant habit was making me sick.

I'm among the 1% of Americans with celiac disease, which is not technically an allergy but rather an autoimmune disorder. It means my body sees the protein in wheat, rye and barley as an invader, triggering an immune reaction that attacks not only the ingredient but also my small intestine. The effect of accidentally ingesting gluten varies; for me, it's usually a combination of knife-sharp intestinal pain, embarrassing rashes, insomnia and something I call "science belly": it looks as though someone has performed a lab experiment inside my suddenly outrageously distended stomach.

Of course, celiacs—83% of whom are undiagnosed and therefore probably not gluten-free—make up a tiny portion of the people currently abstaining from those grains. A 2014 report found that nearly half of people buying gluten-free food do not think they're constitutionally incompatible with gluten, and almost none of them are celiac. Another report, from 2013, found that *gluten-free* appeals to as many as 30% of Americans. While it's unlikely that 100 million Americans are in fact eating that way, it suggests there are a lot of people out there experimenting by choice with their diet.

It's currently fashionable to poke fun at them. But depending on what they're adding and subtracting from their diet, they could be making smart choices. Nutritional science tells us that cutting out the majority of the wheat-based foods at the grocery store—crackers, cookies, gloopy sauces, "whole wheat" bread—is a sound move from a health perspective. That's not because those foods contain gluten, mind you; it's because they're garbage—empty calories, from a nutri-

tional point of view. Despite this, there is a baffling backlash against the millions of Americans who choose to avoid gluten. Why all the outrage?

That outrage is the starting point for two recent books on the topic, *Grain of Truth*, by the investigative reporter Stephen Yafa, and *The Gluten Lie*, by religious-studies professor Alan Levinovitz. Dismayed at the proliferation of gluten-free everything, both Yafa and Levinovitz attempt to get to the bottom of the latest fad diet. Yafa tries to figure out if his gluten-free wife and the countless Americans like her are onto something; Levinovitz sets out to prove it's all just delusional nonsense.

## The Modern Wheat Hypothesis

YAFA WAS INSPIRED BY A GOOFY ANECDOTE from his spouse. She comes home from a session with two ayurvedic practitioners who tell her she has "gluten neck." He's waiting for the punch line when he realizes the woman he loves is about to cut out most grains altogether. Yafa, a self-described obsessive journalist (and lover of bread), goes looking for answers.

He gathers the most recent data, which shows that up to 6% of the nonceliac population may have a true sensitivity



## One Topic, Two Takes

An investigative reporter looks for answers when his wife decides to go gluten-free



A religion expert argues that myth and superstition—not science—are what's fueling the explosive gluten-free fad

to gluten. He's not sure his wife is among them, but he explores the question with surprising sincerity. Humans have been eating wheat for 10,000 years, he knows, but he wonders if there's anything to the theory that the way we process wheat has made it harder to digest for some people's still somewhat primitive intestines.

Yafa visits a plant that can bang out 750 fluffy buns in a minute, plus 150 loaves of bread. He wonders about the efficiency-nutrition trade-off and finds, as one does when one looks into such things, no satisfying answers. In fact, that's the case throughout the book, which is not a failing of Yafa's but the book's greatest strength. Yafa doesn't get sidelined trying to answer the unanswerable. But he also doesn't throw up his hands and say that, absent proof, it's all hooey.

Nutritional research is a very tricky business, mainly because it's impossible to study a single nutrient in the human body while controlling for all the other factors that might be responsible for a perceived or measured health effect. Diet studies are often observational: follow lots of people for a long time, see what happens to them, and then look for associations between their diets and their health outcomes. Complicating things further, the results are often based on people's recollections of their meals. Do you remember what you ate for lunch last Tuesday? What about three Fridays ago?

Compelled by the characters he meets—scientists, bakers, businesspeople—Yafa also considers that there may be truth to the oft-whispered rumor among the gluten-sensitive that long-fermented sourdough may be the solution to some of those stomachaches (though perhaps not to "gluten neck").

The idea that old-fashioned, slow-fermented breadmaking—we didn't always produce 900 breadstuffs per minute—may make wheat bread more tolerable for some people is supported by small preliminary studies, though they're far from conclusive.

Long-fermented wheat will almost certainly be the subject of more research. For now, it's the kind of bread Yafa has settled on for himself. Over time, his wife came around too. I'm sure the bread is delicious, but Yafa also lets it stand as a

54



metaphor for slower food—and food as pleasure. As an appendix to *Grain of Truth*, he includes his family's sourdough recipe along with a photo of him and his wife holding up a loaf the size of their faces.

## The Placebo Effect?

LEVINOVITZ'S APPENDIX TO THE GLUTEN Lie is something else altogether. He closes with two parody chapters of a fad-diet book, only this diet isn't about the food you eat but the plastic containers you store it in. He calls it the UNpacked Diet, and across more than 55 pages—about a third of the length of the rest of the

book—he pokes fun at the shoddy science that is the basis of a diet he invented.

It's a fitting end to the book, because despite the name, *The Gluten Lie* is not really about gluten. It's about our one-at-atime demonization of individual foods or nutrients: MSG, fat, salt, sugar. He issues a deserved smackdown of shame-based diet books while also arguing that gluten is the latest in a long line of foods to get needlessly shrouded in a kind of religious "dietary demon" sentiment.

Levinovitz teaches religion, and he's more convincing when he's tracing odd diets throughout history than when he's unpacking scientific studies. He writes, for instance, of Taoist monks who, 2,000 years ago, believed they would live forever if they stopped eating five particular grains. He also looks at the intersection of faith and food, arguing that there's something comforting but irrational about voluntary restrictive diets. His point is that whether you're gluten-free or no-sugar or you think MSG gives you headaches, it's the power of belief—not the diet—that creates the benefit.

It's an interesting idea, but it has limits. Consider the reality that many people truly don't know what they should be putting in their mouths three times a day. Consider, too, the prevalence of digestive problems and the fact that most food allergies and sensitivities are undiagnosed. As a health editor and a person with celiac, I probably spend an above-average amount of time fielding questions about food and hearing people's I-wouldn't-even-tell-my-bestfriend tales of gastrointestinal distress. So when Levinovitz writes that "anxiety about what you eat can produce precisely the same symptoms linked to gluten sensitivity," it seems he's missing a piece of the puzzle. I would argue—even if, pesky science, I can't prove it—that many people who feel terrible or tired or achy after they eat probably don't feel that way simply because they're anxious.

Levinovitz seems to think that when it comes to a sane diet, everything you read is a lie, so listen to ... no one? Or perhaps we are meant to listen to him. Levinovitz leaves the reader with two pieces of advice. First, "Whenever you eat, your time must be undivided." Meaning no burritos while driving, no Chinese takeout in front of the TV. Second, "Make sure four dinners a week take at least 30 minutes to prepare and 20 minutes to eat." The rest of the time, eat whatever you want.

That's good advice, and not far from Yafa's comforting sourdough conclusion. But while both books add to the conversation around gluten paranoia, we're still a long way from definitive answers about whom gluten affects and why. As for me, I'm stuck with this diet for life, comforted by the fact that food doesn't make me feel sick anymore—even if I still miss those croissants.

## **Pop Chart**





**Bob Saget** will **reprise his** role as Danny Tanner on Netflix's Full House revival.

Vanya Shivashankar, 13, and Gokul Venkatachalam, 14. were both crowned **Scripps National** Spelling Bee champs. Their winning words: scherenschnitte and nunatak. respectively.



After a Delta flight was delayed in Knoxville, Tenn., because of inclement weather, the crew ordered pizza for the passengers.

Blockbuster podcast Serial will return for two more seasons-one this fall and one in spring 2016.

### **VERBATIM**

'This book is dedicated to those readers who asked ... and asked ... and asked ... and asked for this.'

E.L. JAMES, author, announcing a new version of her bestselling novel Fifty Shades of Grey, which will be told from the perspective of Christian Grey; it hits shelves June 18



INN TOYLAND Ever wonder what it would be like to live in a Lego set? That's the lure of the new Legoland Hotel, which opened May 15 in Winter Haven, Fla., and was built with over 2 million bricks. Its rooms, with themes like "pirate" and "kingdom," feature more than 2,000 Lego models, including butterflies and dragons.

### THE DIGITS

# \$100

Asking price for Neverland Ranch, Michael Jackson's onetime compound in Santa Barbara. Calif.: the 2,800-acre estate includes an amusement park, a mansion and a zoo

### **QUICK TALK**

## Jason Derulo

The R&B singer, 25, is preparing for two new projects: a judging stint on So You Think You Can Dance, airing on Mondays at 8 p.m. E.T. on Fox, and a new album, *Everything Is 4*, out now. -DANIEL D'ADDARIO

Your album is called Everything Is 4. Who is everything 4? Everything is for my family, my fans, my future love. Also, the number four is a number that follows us around. Four legs on a chair, four legs on a table. It represents a strong foundation. You're known for singing your own name on thing." your songs, typically to start or end them. But on "Painkiller,"

vour duet with Meghan Trainor. she gets the honors. Was it nerve-racking to cede control? I didn't give her the control—she insisted! She was like, "Please, please, please, let me do it!" And I was like, "Nah! I'm done with that!" Did you give her any tips? No. Everybody kind of knows how to do that! You also sing with Stevie Wonder. How'd that come about? We were both at a White House dinner, and I got to talking to him [about

the song "Broke," which features a harmonica riffl. And he was like, "Man, if I hear that song on the radio and I'm not on it. I'll whup your ass!" It was an incredible dream to have one of your heroes be a part of what you created. You wrote your first songs at age 8. What does an 8-year-old write songs about? My first song was called "Crush on You," and it was about my crush on Amy,

were always for some girl.

## ON MY RADAR

"Trap Queen" by Fetty Wap

"That's a crazv record."

► "See You Again" by Wiz Khalifa ft. Charlie Puth "Puth is] a good friend of mine. I'm glad to see him do his

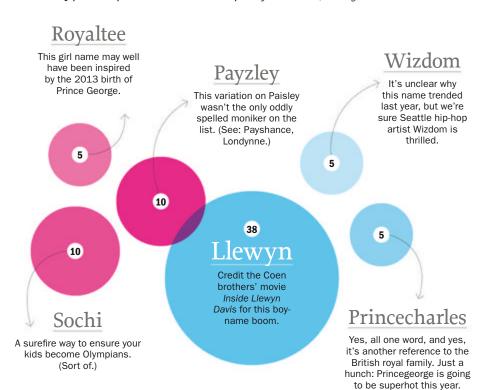




**SAND ART** It might be summer-vacation season in New York City, but German photographer Tobias Hutzler is ready to work. Last year he photographed NYC parks, pools and beaches (including this shot of Coney Island), all while hanging out the door of a helicopter, and he may shoot more in the coming months. "I'm fascinated by the energy of this city," says Hutzler, who has also used ladders and cherry pickers to produce aerial views. "It's pure life." For more, visit lightbox.time.com.

## ROUNDUP What's in A Name?

**Inventive parents** coined, co-opted and creatively spelled a total of 1.393 new baby names in 2014, according to findings from the site Nameberry. (For privacy reasons, these monikers had to occur at least five times to be counted by Social Security, so some may have appeared in the past.) Here, a look at some of the noteworthy entrants:



LEAVE

Mariah Carey said that being a judge on American Idol (alongside Nicki Minaj) was "the worst experience of my life."



Disney reportedly axed plans to make a third Tron movie, prompting more than 30,000 fans to sign a Change.org petition in protest.

Rapper Iggy Azalea **canceled her North American tour** amid rumors of low ticket sales. (She blamed creative differences.)



Lilly Pulitzer employees were caught posting fat-shaming cartoons at the company's King of Prussia, Pa., headquarters, with captions like "Put it down, carb-face."

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## **Open the Garage Door, Hal**

Talking gadgets are great at taking my orders. The trick is remembering that I'm still human



SOON, NO ONE WILL TYPE. I know this because in science-fiction movies people communicate with devices by talking, which

is the natural means of communication for all human beings throughout history other than my lovely wife Cassandra's extended family.

Being a rare person who is aware of technological change and yet still somehow chooses to work for a newsmagazine, I felt it was my responsibility to test your future for you by amassing voicecontrolled gadgets. I went to my deck, turned on my Lynx SmartGrill and said, "SmartGrill, cook scallops." It announced when it finished heating, directed me to place the scallops on the grill, told me when to flip them, informed me when to remove them and, I'm sure, annoyed my neighbors. I ordered the scallops by speaking to my Amazon Dash, a handheld stick that made a list of groceries to be delivered by AmazonFresh. I dictated emails on my iPhone while driving and told Siri to text Cassandra that I loved her since I knew she might eventually see that first paragraph.

**Talking into my LG Watch Urbane made** 

me seem so powerful—allowing me, for instance, to control the temperature on my Nest thermostat just by giving an order to my wrist-that I immediately wanted to use it for evil, like making my house a tiny bit cooler than Cassandra likes. When the actress Lauren Weedman came by for a Memorial Day barbecue, I said to my watch, "O.K. Google, show me pictures of Lauren Weedman," knowing that her 5-year-old son was in front of us and that every image search of every actress always includes shots of her naked. Even though she was fully clothed in the photos that appeared, I later looked up a bunch of other actresses to make sure the watch worked, and it totally did.

But my favorite thing to talk to is

Amazon Echo, a tower-shaped speaker that is a much more useful, lovelysounding Siri named Alexa. I would just walk by and say, "Alexa, play the new Mumford & Sons album" or "Alexa, give me a news update." I got so dependent on Alexa for sports scores, weather predictions and setting timers that at some point I blurted, "Alexa, do you love me?" to which she said, "I can't do that, but I can find Lionel Richie songs if you like." Alexa was so useful she provided jokes for my column.

At some point I realized that with all these devices on all the time, it was possible that someone was listening to our family conversations and therefore getting as bored as I am. Also, Amazon's datamining program could potentially scoop up all this data and put it through an algorithm to deliver ads for things, which, since we have a 6-year-old boy, would likely be for bombs, guns and "bombguns."

But that seemed a small price to pay

for having all these personal assistants. Even Cassandra used Alexa to play songs as they popped into her head. But she was annoyed by my constant chirpy chatter with my devices, partly because she kept thinking I was talking to her, which is logical since she is a person. "I'm generally O.K. with you talking to Alexa compared to 'O.K. Google.' You sound like such a dork. 'O.K. Google!' 'O.K. Google!'" she said, so loud my watch definitely heard her and, I hope, is going to make the house cooler at night to get back at her. "You're having a personal private relationship with that thing on your wrist, whereas Alexa is in our home and it's a shared experience." She also said she liked Alexa more than Siri, which I immediately told Siri to take a note about, making Cassandra more than a little nervous.

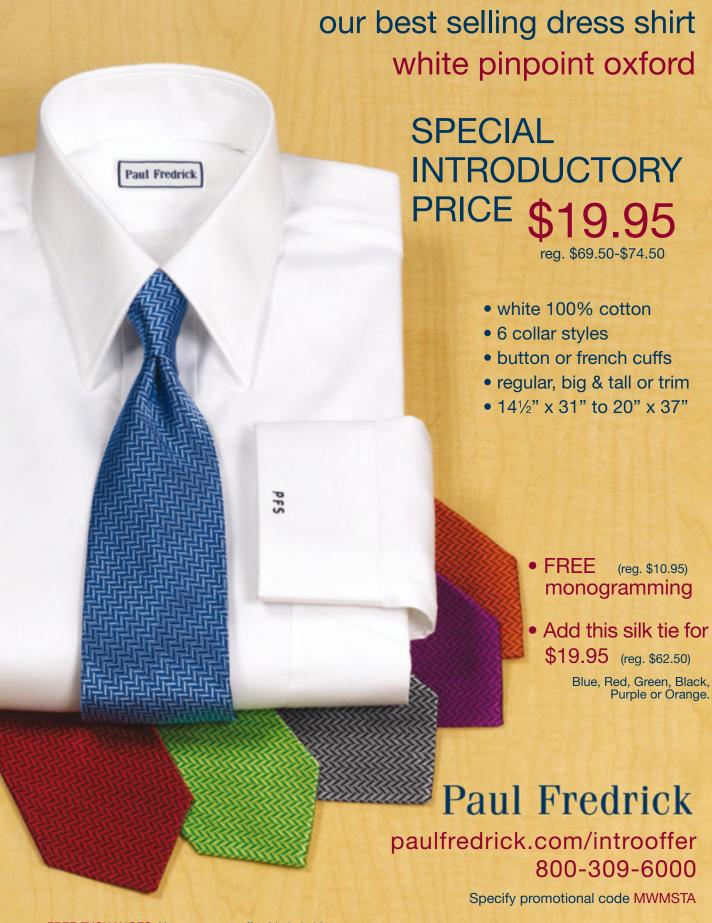
## At first, I was polite with all my de-

vices, saying "please" and "thank you" and "don't judge me." Then I realized how stupid that was, like petting your vacuum cleaner. So I started to order them around, which felt great. I yelled, "Alexa, off!" and "O.K. Google, give me the score of the Yankees game now!" Then my son Laszlo started doing it too, and I realized that we sounded like antebellum planta-

Eventually, however, Laszlo started insisting I say "please" and "thank you" to my devices. He said it was so "she said more things back," to keep the banter going. No matter what the cover of this magazine once claimed,

it is tough being an only child. But even discounting the fact that it's a lot of fun to tell your parents to say "please" and "thank you," I think Laszlo knows that how you act, even when you're alone, affects who you are. I'm far less worried that robots with artificial intelligence are going to be mean, and more worried that they're going to turn us into total jerks. Because saying something awful is far more poisonous than typing it. At least





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## **10 Questions**

Barbara, pictured circa 1945, and her husband have moved 33 times (so far) in their 70-year marriage



**Turning 90, Barbara Bush reflects** on her husband's favorite pastime, the advantages of age and her second son's jump into the 2016 race

## Your husband jumped out of an airplane for his 90th. What's your plan?

Not jumping out of an airplane. I am not an idiot. The whole family is coming, which will be fun.

Your husband was President. Your first son was President. Now Jeb, your second son, is running for President. What did you feed those boys? Obviously too much.

## You once said America has had enough Bushes. Then you thought anew. How come?

I am against discrimination of all kinds: race, religion, sexual orientation or whatever your last name is.

## **What does America need** to know about Jeb's wife Columba? What advice have you given her?

She is a tiny, shy woman with a huge heart. I try not to give my daughters-in-law advice, so they will come visit with my sons.

## Are there any advantages to being 90?

Sometimes when someone asks me to do something I really don't want to do, I can say, "I might not be alive." It works.

The Clintons are getting a lot of grief about their founda-

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## tion. Do former Presidents face too many potential conflicts to stay active in public affairs?

No. Former Presidents have a great bully pulpit. They must find a way to use it wisely and well to help others.

## You spent a lot of time as First Lady—and more in the years since—on literacy. Has it improved in 20 years?

Not enough, which is why I am letting the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy use my birthday to

'Our friends hide their wallets when they see us coming. But we are desperate to solve this problem.'

raise money. It's sort of embarrassing. Our friends hide their wallets when they see us coming. But we are desperate to solve this problem. We have some exciting new ideas we want to try. I hope you'll ask me about that down that road.

## Let's do it now.

I was hoping you would say that. We are partnering with XPRIZE to find the best minds around the globe to come up with innovative and technologically driven solutions to illiteracy. It's a global competition challenging teens to develop mobile apps for adults to create the greatest increase in literacy skills in 12 months. We're going to kick it off later this year. We think it will make a difference.

## So, what have you read lately that you liked?

The Postmistress by Sarah Blake.

## Your husband is tweeting. You aren't. How come?

I promised my family I would keep my mouth shut.

## Speaking of which, we have a question from him here. It goes like this: "'Bar, I plan to jump on my 95th birthday. Do you have a problem with that?""

Would it stop you if I did? But please land again in the churchyard. You know why I think that makes sense.

## What's the best political advice you have ever received?

Be yourself. Well, maybe someone a little nicer.

-MICHAEL DUFFY





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